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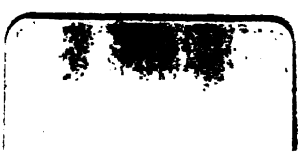

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MEMOIRS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

BRISTOL.

MEMOIRS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

BRISTOL,

AND

THE WESTERN COUNTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN;

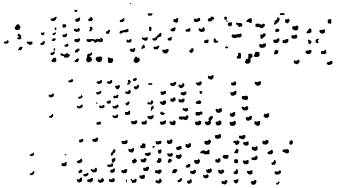
WITH SOME OTHER COMMUNICATIONS, MADE TO

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF

The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

HELD AT BRISTOL, JULY 29 TO AUGUST 5, 1851:

WITH A GENERAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING, AND A CATALOGUE OF THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM.



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GENERAL REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE BRISTOL MEETING,

JULY 29TH TO AUGUST 5TH, 1851.

THE first Annual Assembly of the Institute, held in the western counties of England, in compliance with the wishes of many members of the Society, assembled at Oxford, in 1850, commenced in Bristol, with the fullest encouragement on the part of the municipal authorities of that city. The Council House and Guildhall, with the adjoining buildings, were liberally placed at the disposal of the Society, and the proceedings of the week opened with the customary inaugural Meeting, which was held in the Guildhall.

At twelve o'clock, the Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, the President, accompanied by JOHN SCANDRETT HARFORD, Esq. (President elect), with several eminent foreign Archæologists and Members of the Institute, were received by the Mayor, Sir JOHN KERLE HABERFIELD, the Town Clerk, Chamberlain, and Civic Authorities, and proceeded to the Guildhall.

Lord TALBOT, on taking the chair, thus addressed the assembly:—

It affords me great pleasure, that it has been our good fortune on this occasion, to visit this ancient and celebrated city, connected with so many ancient associations and so many important events in the history of this country. No city, except the metropolis, has played a greater part in the revolutions that have taken place since the Norman conquest; no city has more contributed to the greatness, the wealth, and the prosperity of the country. In every great struggle which has taken place, and through which has been perfected the constitution under which we live, from the time of the Barons' wars and Magna Charta down to the conclusion of the great rebellion, this city has been one of the most prominent points which each party struggled to obtain. It is not my intention to enter upon any disquisition on the subject of Archæology, or the objects of the Archæological Institute. Those objects will be more fully set forth by other persons who will address the meeting during the ensuing week. I have now the pleasing duty of transferring the brief authority which I have enjoyed as President of

the Institute, to a gentleman much better qualified for the discharge of its functions. Before doing so it is impossible not to allude to the circumstances under which I became President of the Archæological Institute. There are so many considerations, both of a pleasurable and painful nature, mixed up with the office I have filled and with its fortunes and peregrinations, that I shall be considered to be a very inefficient exponent of them, after the masterly and zealous manner in which the duties were discharged by our late noble President. It is impossible that any person acquainted or mixed up with the many Societies, scientific, artistic, literary and charitable, with which he invariably allied himself, should not feel deeply the loss the Society has sustained. The first occasion on which I had an opportunity of co-operating with the late Lord Northampton was in this very city, at the meeting of the British Association for the advancement of Science; an occasion which, I am convinced, is still fresh in the recollection of many whom I now address. In proposing that Mr. Harford take the chair I am about to vacate, I should be unnecessarily detaining you if I alluded at any length to the many qualities he possesses for that office. Many gentlemen present must be well acquainted with the zeal, the activity, the benevolence, and liberality, he has ever displayed in promoting the interests of this great city. Forward in every good work, he has manifested more than ordinary interest in those objects which we have at present more especially in view, and has shown his zeal for the preservation of those great and glorious works of art, for which this ancient city is renowned. The prominent part he took in restoring the noble edifice of St. Mary Redcliffe cannot fail to impress you with the feeling, that you could not have a more efficient President than a gentleman who has shown himself so fully sensible of the duties which one in his position owes to his country, and who has so efficiently promoted the views of this Society in the preservation of national monuments.

John S. Harford, Esq., of Blaize Castle, on rising, was received with much applause. He said—Ladies and gentlemen, I feel that the noble lord who has just addressed you, has said far more than I am entitled to, in my commendation; and I beg of you, so far from acceding to the terms in which he has spoken of me, to understand that I address you with great diffidence, and beg you to make a kind allowance for the inadequacy which I feel competently to discharge the duties of the office entrusted to me. I can truly say that I feel it is a great honour to be called upon to act as President of the Archæological Institute on the occasion of its visit to this ancient city—a city to which I am attached by so many endearing associations, and which is so rich, as the noble lord justly said, in historic interest and picturesque reminiscences of the past. Sure I am, that I justly interpret the general feeling of the inhabitants of Bristol, when I say that one and all are truly happy to welcome among

them the members of a society combining so much talent and learning and devoted to the investigation of such important and interesting objects. I was called upon to occupy the honourable position in which I am now placed, by the earnest solicitation of that noble lord to whom allusion has this moment been made with so much feeling and so much eloquence; and I can truly say, that I should not have been able to overcome the hesitation I naturally felt as to my competency for the office, had I not been assured then of having the benefit of that noble lord's co-operation and assistance. Could I have foreseen that, instead of welcoming him to Bristol as I hoped joyfully to have done—instead of sharing with him in the pleasure of those meetings of which he would have been sure to be in a great degree the life and soul—instead of *that* to have to offer a tribute to the memory of his many great and most amiable qualities of head and heart, to his varied accomplishments—a tribute sincere but unavailing of admiration and of esteem, I should not have been induced to permit myself to be placed in this position. Relying, however, upon the efficient support of the many able friends of the Archæological Institute by whom I am surrounded, and offering them my most cordial good wishes, I will do everything in my power to further the objects for which we are assembled, and also to promote the comfort and the enjoyment of all the members of the Society.

I will now briefly state what I conceive to be the proper scope and object of Archæological studies. And first of all, as probably there are many persons present not members of the Institute, who may have been led to regard us as scions of the very ancient but somewhat crotchetty family of the Dry-as-Dusts, I beg leave positively to repudiate the fact of any such alliance. The true Archæologist, such, I mean, as the members of this Institute would recognise, has no superstitious veneration for ancient forms or objects, merely because they are ancient; he is neither a puerile worshipper of the green rust of classical coins and old armour, nor has he a voracious and undiscriminating taste for collecting all sorts of curiosities within the precincts of a museum. Far higher; the Archæologist surveys the objects of such museums with the eye of curiosity and of taste like other people; but he chiefly values them as links between the Past and the Present, and he looks through them and by them, to the prosecution of objects philanthropic, useful, and important. Archæology, justly interpreted—interpreted as it is by the principles and practice of the learned society I have now the honour to address, is the handmaid and purveyor of history, the sage commentator on ancient customs and ancient art, the acute and enlightened interpreter of the records and memorials of the Past, whether oral, written, or monumental. The artist visits Greece, or Italy, or Egypt, to fascinate and to charm our eyes with the magic tints of his pencil, and to bring away with him striking reminiscences of scenes and objects celebrated in

history or in song. The mere traveller goes there to gratify a laudable curiosity, or to add to his stores of useful knowledge; but the learned Archæologist pauses where the artist merely paints and the passing traveller takes only a brief survey, to extract from the objects he inspects, means and instruments for uplifting the veil from the Past, and for helping to solve one and another great problem in the history of man, religious, moral, social, political. Thus it is that a Young and a Champollion have astonished all Europe, by discovering the key which unlocks the hidden meaning of the hieroglyphical language of Egypt. Thus it is that a Layard, a Rawlinson, and others, have succeeded, not only in extracting from the bowels of the earth the sculptures of Nineveh, but have successfully deciphered the cuneiform characters and picture language which cover many portions of their surface. From both these quarters we may venture to hope that many important additions will be made to our historical knowledge. In the same way, by the collation and the comparison of various monuments of ancient art in Asia Minor, Greece, and Sicily, the history of Grecian sculpture has during the last half century been traced from its first condition of almost Egyptian insipidity to its next stage of a rude imitation of nature, and thence, step by step, to the lofty grandeur and ideal perfection of the age of Pericles. And let me add that, much in the same way the history of Christian Art is now in course of illustration, from its first feeble germ as displayed in the fresco paintings of the catacombs of Rome and Naples, through the various phases of its progress and decline, whether at Rome or Byzantium, till it sunk into the imbecility of the dark ages, and at length, under the impulse of reviving Literature, broke forth again into being, with poetic fervour and vigour in the school of Giotto and his followers, and finally attained its acme of perfection in the sublime works of a Da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, and a Raffaelle. Thus, also, a Mr. Collingwood Bruce, a Mr. Roach Smith, and others, by their elaborate and accurate researches have recently thrown new and important light upon the Roman occupation of Britain, and have verified many curious facts illustrative of the habits, luxuries, and superstitions of the Roman settlers, by monumental evidence the most convincing. We are indebted for these and other interesting historical facts and illustrations to the indefatigable researches and the mental acuteness of a succession of highly gifted Archæologists pursuing their way sometimes singly, sometimes associated with others, often exposed to difficulties and privations, and chiefly stimulated by the noble ambition of correcting error and of enlarging the domain of truth and knowledge.

The range of Archæological investigation is, however, so vast, and the expense of pursuing it in foreign lands so costly, that in many respects it mocks the efforts of individuals, and especially invites the co-operation of learned societies like our own, and the effectual interference and pecuniary

aid of enlightened governments. Of the great value and efficiency of such co-operation we have many proofs. How little, for instance, did the British conquerors of India duly comprehend its wild mythology, its remarkable traditions, its native poetry and literature, or the complication of its various sects and social distinctions, till the Asiatic Society, under the auspices of Sir William Jones and aided by his profound learning and philosophical intellect, poured a flood of light upon these and other important particulars! The remarkable facts thus gradually elicited, did not merely gratify the curiosity of philosophers and literati, but essentially aided the British Government in carrying out its wise and benevolent resolution of introducing among their Indian subjects the enlightened and equitable principles of British jurisprudence, with a due consideration for native laws, prejudices, and opinions. At a later period, the same facts also rendered essential aid to Missionary Societies, in the prosecution of their noble and disinterested efforts to communicate to the natives of Hindostan the pure light and the inestimable blessings of the Christian Revelation. The history of the celebrated French expedition to Egypt under Napoleon, forcibly proves how much a willing Government may effect in aid of Archæological researches. The military triumphs of that army were but momentary; but the train of learned men who, through the enlightened policy of the French Government, were attached to it, have acquired for France a durable reputation, by their extensive researches, by their splendid publications, and, above all, by the ardent spirit of inquiry which those researches stirred up in their native country, and also in our own. Denon and his coadjutors first broke up the ground which has since been so successfully cultivated by a succession of eminent archæologists, artists, and travellers, among whom, in addition to the two distinguished names already adverted to, I may be allowed to mention those of Wilkinson and Roberts, and, still more recently, that of his Excellency, Chevalier Bunsen, whose presence among us this day you will all, I am sure, unite with me in most cordially greeting. The researches and publications of these eminent men have not only placed before us correct and artistic illustrations of the magnificent structures which impart a poetic grandeur and interest to the borders of the Nile, but have also so familiarised us with the domestic habits and utensils of the ancient Egyptians, and with their superstitious observances, that we are able to follow them almost as spectators, from their very cradles to the remarkable ceremonies of their final obsequies. A similar light has been thrown, by the researches of the last thirty years, upon a people more refined, but less understood than the Egyptians. I allude to the ancient Etruscans. They had long been known to us by name, and by the possession of many of those beautiful and tasteful vases, the discovery of which, in the recesses of their tombs, formed a new epoch in the principles of artistic shape and decoration. But modern Archæology

has since explored those tombs, and innumerable others since discovered, with a more intelligent and acute eye, and has extracted from them copious materials for illustrating the domestic habits, the religious rites, the festivals and amusements, and the warlike habits of this most singular people. The profusion of vases, domestic utensils, bronzes, warlike arms and weapons, and personal ornaments proper to both sexes, in gold and gems, found within these subterranean recesses, is prodigious; but the numerous paintings in fresco which adorn them, form the principal key to their pursuits and habits. They were not Greeks, yet their affinities with Greece were most close and intimate. They were not Romans, yet they gradually blended with their Roman conquerors and imparted to them not only their learning and civilisation, but many of their religious rites and observances. They were familiar with the mythology and the heroes of Homer, and they had also a mythology and heroes of their own, which are wrapped in mystery. Their alphabet is composed of Greek Pelasgic letters, but the language which it involves has hitherto proved inscrutable. Their paintings are in general Grecian in their style, and the inscriptions on their vases are chiefly Greek; but their bronzes, which are exceedingly fine, bear upon them inscriptions in Etruscan characters. Their sculpture is also original. These particulars have been illustrated by many learned Italian Archæologists, and have been placed in a popular form before the British public, by the elegant pen of Mrs. Hamilton Grey, whose presence I had hoped would have graced our meeting on the present occasion. I am charged by herself and Mr. Grey with their regrets at their unavoidable absence.

But I must not forget, while glancing in this way at the rich materials of foreign Archæology, that there is a branch of our subject nearer home, which has peculiar claims upon our patriotic feelings as well as upon our high admiration. I allude to British Archæology in all its parts, but especially to that branch of it which is connected with our ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of which we possess so many splendid monuments. I will venture to say that more has been done during the last half century to preserve, to illustrate, and to restore those glorious fabrics of past times, than was effected during the three centuries which have elapsed since the Reformation. They were centuries characterised not merely by inexcusable neglect of those venerable edifices, but by the most barbarous inroads upon their proper style and character. Think of that perverted taste which could mix up with their chaste and harmonious features, the incongruity of screens, altar-pieces, and portals in a paltry style, half Roman, half Arabesque. Think of the glaring whitewash which often over-lay the pensive tones of their clustered columns and swelling arches and fretted roofs. Think of the same vile material mercilessly applied to the rich glossy tints of their venerable oak-work. Think of their fine tracery and antique tombs, often buried

in a mass of raw plaster; and their massive walls torn down to erect hard by, some mean and paltry edifice. Let it not, however, be supposed that this species of barbarism is peculiar to England or to Protestantism. There is no country where it has reigned and revelled so much as in Italy. There is no country where it still retains so strong a hold. Witness, among innumerable other instances, the interior of the church of St. Maria Novella, at Florence, originally a beautiful example of Italian Gothic, and which Michael Angelo used to call in fondness his bride, but now so utterly disguised by meretricious ornaments and innovations, that I feel sure, could that great man speak, he would divorce himself from her. Happily this æra of perverted taste has passed away; we now jealously watch over our ancient edifices, and aided by the accurate researches of various able and enlightened Archæologists and architects, among whom, let me particularly mention, a Hope, a Cockerell, a Whewell, a Britton, and a Willis, we are become familiar with the successive styles and epochs of English Ecclesiastical Architecture, and also with the distinctive features of the corresponding styles and epochs of the ancient Church Architecture of France and Germany, and we are further able to trace them all back in their essential features, amidst many varieties of detail, to one common type pervading the early Christian structures erected under the auspices of Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian. I may venture to say that Bristol will gratify the researches of those ladies and gentlemen who have honoured it with their presence on this occasion, by many rich and varied specimens of Ancient Church Architecture. In the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe in particular, they will behold one of the finest existing parochial churches in the kingdom—a cathedral in miniature, in all its parts most richly and tastefully decorated. By an inspection of the repairs and restorations carrying on there, visitors will see how much not only Bristol, but every admirer of Gothic Architecture throughout the kingdom, is indebted to the Canynges Society, a highly respectable body of the citizens of Bristol, who, acting in the most disinterested spirit, have zealously devoted themselves to the promotion of this important object, on principles equally correct and scientific. It is a work of great expense and difficulty, to be fully achieved only by time, by perseverance, and by much public liberality. There are many other objects of interest to be seen in Bristol, a clear and succinct summary of which has been drawn up by a most deserving individual, Mr. William Tyson, a gentleman connected with the *Mirror* office, and to whose merits I am most anxious to pay this tribute, as he is not so well known as his abilities deserve.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have delayed you for some time, but the nature of the subject must be my apology. "The proper study of mankind is man," and it is the history of man illustrated by the works of man, which, as I began by observing, forms the proper

scope and aim of Archæology. Having said this, and thanking you for the kind attention you have paid me, I will now, with your permission, call on the Chevalier Bunsen to address you.

His Excellency the Chevalier BUNSEN then rose to propose a vote of thanks to their noble President, who had that day vacated his post—Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE. The Institute had sustained a most severe loss by the untimely decease of a nobleman endeared to all who had the honour of his acquaintance, and whose memory must be held in especial veneration by every member of the Archæological Institute. In the trying occasion when that kind and generous patron had been suddenly removed from the sphere of beneficial and zealous exertion in fostering every intelligent purpose for the promotion of Science or Art, Lord Talbot had, with the most kindly readiness, consented to supply the place of their lamented President. His attainments, cultivated taste, and knowledge of the subjects to which the purposes of the Institute were devoted, had eminently qualified Lord Talbot for that distinction. The Chevalier Bunsen alluded in most feeling terms, to the friendship which had subsisted for thirty years between Lord Northampton and himself; they had been associated at the earlier period of their acquaintance, in the formation of the Archæological Institute of Rome, of which the late Marquis was one of the chief founders and most constant friends.

The MASTER of TRINITY COLLEGE, Cambridge, seconded the vote of thanks to Lord Talbot. He felt sincere gratification in being called upon to express his cordial sympathy in the thanks which it was proposed now to offer to their late accomplished President. Dr. Whewell observed that he had first become acquainted with that nobleman some years since in the University where he hoped men had always learned, and would continue to learn, to have a veneration and love for antiquity, whilst their minds became disciplined for the fulfilment of the highest duties, social or public, to which they might be called. Whilst, however, it was grateful to him to bear testimony to the attainments of their late President, he could not refrain from expressing also his deep sympathy in the sad tribute paid by that eminent person who had just addressed the meeting, to the memory of that lamented patron whose place Lord Talbot had been called upon to supply.

Mr. HARFORD then informed the meeting that a memoir had been provided for their gratification on the present occasion, by a gentleman well known to many present for his assiduous and able researches regarding the antiquities of their city. The Memoir, relating to the municipal antiquities, the high civic offices, and muniments of Bristol, must be highly acceptable, especially since, at the close of the present meeting, the regalia and charters, with many of those ancient objects to which the observations referred, would be submitted to the inspection of

the Society, by the kind permission of the corporation, in the Council Chamber.

Mr. TUCKER, at the President's request, then read the Memoir in question. (It is printed at length in this Volume, p. 1.)

Lord TALBOT moved the cordial thanks of the meeting to the author of the interesting Memoir, so appropriately brought before the Society on this occasion, as introductory to their investigation of the antiquities of this great city.

The Chevalier KESTNER, Vice-President of the Archæological Institute of Rome, seconded the motion. He assured the meeting of the gratification he felt in participating in the proceedings of a Society, formed for kindred purposes to those which he had long felt the deepest interest in promoting. He congratulated them on being assembled in a city so rich in ancient recollections, and expressed the hope that the members of the Institute might be encouraged to extend their researches to Italy, assuring them of a cordial reception at the museum he had formed in Rome.

A vote of thanks to the President, proposed by Mr. MARKLAND, and seconded by Sir JOHN BOILEAU, Bart., was carried with acclamation, and the meeting adjourned to visit the display prepared in the Council Chamber. The members were there received by the Town Clerk, Daniel Burges, Esq., and the Chamberlain, Thomas Garrard, Esq., whose obliging attention and remarks upon the numerous objects displayed, enhanced the gratification of the visitors. The regalia were disposed with much taste at one end of the saloon, the walls of which are covered with full-length royal and distinguished portraits. The charters and appendent seals, some of great rarity, were shown in glazed cases. A number of records and autographs were exhibited, and the company withdrew highly gratified with this display and demonstration of the cordial feeling of the city of Bristol towards the Society.

The visitors, on quitting the Council House, dispersed to visit various objects of interest, the Cathedral, the Churches, and other points of attraction, with the aid of the notices compiled for their use by the late Mr. W. Tyson, F.S.A., whose researches, for many years devoted to the investigation of the antiquities and recollections of his native city, had been in the kindest manner rendered available to promote the objects of the Institute. The majority repaired to the "Temporary Museum," which by permission of the Lord Bishop of the Diocess, and the council of the Institution, had been arranged at the Bishop's College, Park-street.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Theatre of the Philosophical Institution, Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding. A Memoir was read by Mr. FREEMAN, M.A., "On the Preservation and Restoration of Ancient Monuments," of which the following is an abstract:—

By ancient monuments on the present occasion are to be understood all antiquarian remains of every description, though a more especial reference is intended to the Architectural Monuments of our own country. A wide difference exists between our position with regard to them, and that of the ages in which they were erected. Whatever minuter varieties of opinion may exist among Archæological inquirers, one grand principle is the very essence of their pursuit, that all ancient remains are to be sedulously guarded from unnecessary destruction or innovation. A few persons have indeed put out some wild "destructive" theories, and it is to be hoped that their numbers are as few as their opinions are extravagant. But on the other hand, no persons were ever more truly to be called "destructive" than the great Mediæval architects; they destroyed and altered without mercy; it was probably but seldom, that they entirely destroyed a sound building simply to erect it in a more beautiful form, but it is clear that they habitually rebuilt and remodelled where we should merely repair and restore. The cause of this was that the buildings on which they worked, could not from many circumstances have acquired that factitious value as monuments of antiquity which renders them valuable in our eyes, irrespective of their use or beauty. Whether this destructive habit of the old builders is matter of regret at the present day, may admit of several answers; it has doubtless lost us very many noble edifices, more complete specimens of their respective styles than we now possess, but on the other hand it has opened to us a most interesting and improving field for research in the changes which our larger buildings have undergone at successive epochs.

But while we probably all theoretically hold the principle of "preservation," as opposed to the Mediæval habit of destruction, there are wide differences of opinion upon almost every practical question. There may be said to be two extreme views, or at least tendencies:—First, that love of over-restoration, often, in fact, amounting to practical destruction, which with the very best intentions has done such irreparable harm to our churches, and is now even threatening our castles; and Secondly, an objection to all restoration as a matter of principle, which has been set forth in very strong terms by Mr. Ruskin, who considers that, when an old building is absolutely dangerous, it is better to destroy than to restore. In opposition to this view, compounded of extreme conservatism and extreme destructiveness, a distinction should be drawn between two great classes of antiquities, each of which demands its own appropriate treatment.

Antiquarian objects, in the widest sense, may be divided into two great classes:—First, those whose value is purely antiquarian or æsthetical, not being applied to any modern use. Secondly, those which, in addition to their antiquarian value, are still devoted to their original purposes. The

former should be simply *preserved*; the latter, when necessary, should be faithfully and reverentially *restored*.

The first class is a very heterogeneous one, comprising nearly the whole class of what are known as "antiquities" in the restricted sense; also pictures and statues, any innovation in which is at once condemned; also those architectural works which cannot now be fittingly employed to any practical purpose. Mediæval castles are among the most important antiquities we possess; they should be most carefully *preserved*, but simply preserved as ruins—mere relics of the past; a castle used as a dwelling-house is at once destroyed as an architectural antiquity, and the restoration of any portion of a ruined one is almost more destructive of its picturesque and historical value. A ruined church again, unless in some rare exceptional instances, is simply an object for preservation, though its consecrated character may fairly claim for it a still more respectful care than in other cases. Primæval antiquities, it is clear, should be simply preserved; it may even be doubted whether it would not be an unreality to repair such damage as the recent wanton dislodgement of a rocking-stone by workmen employed on the South Wales Railway. All these purely antiquarian or æsthetical objects should be sedulously preserved without any attempt at restoration, and, except in the case of movable articles, be preserved in their own original places. The removal of the Elgin marbles, for instance, has destroyed the whole meaning of the marbles themselves as parts of a whole, and has still more irreparably ruined the building of which they formed an ornament. Even the removal of the Nimroud sculptures by Dr. Layard was open, though in a less degree, to the same censure; and the practical argument, the benefit conferred on Art in our own country, cannot apply in this case.

The second class actually consists, for the most part, of remains of Ecclesiastical Architecture, but includes also all objects, whether architectural or not, which are still retained in use; as, official insignia, college plate, and the like. While the former belong wholly to the Past, in these the Past and the Present have an equal claim. Mr. Ruskin indeed ventures to say:—"They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us." But it is certainly not easy to see why we who now are, have not at least as much right in them as our posterity. In all cases of this sort, faithful restoration, when really necessary, after the original model, is the only means by which the two claims, of the Past and the Present, can be fully reconciled. The identity preserved by it is amply sufficient to sustain that moral effect, that lesson of the connection of the Past with the Present, which is the end designed by the retention in use of any ancient object. Our ancient churches, our ancient halls of justice, are the living memorials of our ecclesiastical and civil history,

our right and fellowship in which is not to be sacrificed to any antiquarian scruple which might hinder us from really necessary and faithful restoration. It is hardly possible to believe, though the inference follows necessarily from his words, that Mr. Ruskin himself would prefer to *destroy*, rather than *restore*, the Hall and Abbey of Westminster, consecrated as they are by every religious and national association. And, in fact, that author seems to stand quite alone in his extreme view of rejecting all restoration; even those who sometimes seem almost to shrink from the name, are not commonly found to object in practice to any restoration which is really *necessary* and *faithful*.

Restorations, then, of objects of the second class may be undertaken without fear, provided they really deserve those two epithets. A restoration is *necessary* when required either for stability or decency; but it is certainly not necessary to renovate the surface of every stone which is at all worn or mutilated, a process at once destroying the whole association of antiquity. A restoration is *faithful* when whatever new work is required is an exact reproduction of the old. Too strong a protest cannot be made against the frequent practice of innovating and tampering with ancient buildings, destroying their original or characteristic features, in order to make them accord with some pet idea of the architect or benefactor. Cases may, indeed, occur where it is really necessary, and therefore fully justifiable, to destroy an ancient building and substitute another of quite different character; but such cases ought to stand on their own ground, and not be allowed to confound themselves with genuine cases of restoration. An indignant protest against the claim put forth by a few architects to innovate upon ancient structures *ad libitum*, has been made by one of the most eminent members of the profession in the "Treatise on Church Restoration," recently published by Mr. Scott, and a brief summary of sound principles on the subject forms the concluding paragraph of Mr. Petit's work on Tewkesbury Abbey.

A discussion arose on some of the points incidentally alluded to in the essay.

Mr. Hawkins made some observations in defence of Lord Elgin, on the ground that he had dug up nearly the whole of the Parthenon sculptures from the ruins, and had removed only a very small number of fragments from their original position. Dr. Layard, he observed, was fully justified in transporting to this country the Assyrian sculptures found by him; since, had they been exposed to the air, the stone of which they are formed would have speedily crumbled to decay.

Mr. Freeman admitted that Mr. Hawkins had made out a better case for Lord Elgin than he had thought possible; but he felt certain, from the accounts he had read of that nobleman's proceedings, that some, at least, of the statues were removed from their original place in the

frieze. Mr. Hawkins admitted that one was. Now, he contended that, if only a single figure, however mutilated, remained in its natural place, it must have served to suggest the general effect of the whole when complete, and to exhibit the relation maintained in the building between the two arts of architecture and sculpture, in a way which was now rendered impossible. Consequently, the removal of such a single figure was an irreparable loss, and fully justified the expressions of which he had made use. With regard to Dr. Layard, Mr. Hopkinson, who had taken part in the argument, had omitted to notice that he had drawn a marked distinction between him and Lord Elgin; he had expressly said, "Far be it from me to place the honoured name of Layard in the same class with that of the destroyer of the Parthenon;" he felt as much admiration as any man for the energy and devotedness displayed by Dr. Layard, and as full an appreciation of the wonderful and important nature of his discoveries. But those feelings were fully compatible with a disapproval of the course taken by Dr. Layard in removing any sculptures which still remained *in situ*; to the removal of those which had been already dislodged of course no objection could be taken. It was argued that in both cases the only alternative lay between the removal of the sculptures, and their speedy destruction from the weather and other causes. Now, he must himself confess a feeling, allied, it might be, to superstition, but one which he felt very strongly, that were he never so certain that such really was the alternative, he would at least leave the guilt of destruction to others, and not cumber himself with a proceeding barbarous in itself, even as the means of forestalling still more barbarous devastations.

Mr. Nash, of Clifton, offered some observations in corroboration of the arguments advanced by Mr. Freeman. Lord Talbot observed that Dr. Layard could scarcely have adopted any other course than the removal of the valuable vestiges discovered by him. He was of opinion that all mutilations and wanton disintegration of ancient monuments, such as had been committed in Egypt by cutting out portions of sculpture, was wholly unjustifiable.

At the close of the discussion the members were invited to adjourn to the museum of the Philosophical Institution, where refreshments were offered by the kind hospitality of that society. Every facility was afforded during the whole meeting, by that society, with free access to their library, museum, and collections.

On Wednesday, July 30th, an excursion was arranged to visit Wells Cathedral, and a numerous party quitted Bristol at an early hour to traverse the Mendip hills; a journey of some difficulty, that mode of access being unfortunately the only means available, by which the general desire that Wells should be included in the arrangements of the

meeting at Bristol, could be gratified. The discourses, by Professor Willis and Professor Cockerell, R.A., were delivered in the Court House at Wells, and both lecturers subsequently accompanied their hearers to make an actual examination of the fabric, and the sculptures by which it is decorated. It is greatly to be regretted that the following inadequate report of the masterly dissertation delivered by Professor Willis, is all that can be offered in the present publication. The subject will be fully treated, it may be hoped, with other Cathedrals upon which the Professor has lectured (so much to the gratification of his audience at the successive meetings of the Institute), in his forthcoming "Architectural Histories of the Cathedrals of England." Of the admirable discourse and demonstration given on this occasion by Professor Cockerell, upon the Sculptures, to the elucidation of which he has long devoted his attention, a notion will be derived, more satisfactory to our readers than any report which could here be offered, from the Professor's interesting volume, the "Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral," published shortly after the meeting at Bristol.

The following Report will give some idea, although necessarily a very imperfect one, of the interesting dissertation on the "Architectural History" of the Cathedral. Professor Willis commenced by observing:—

"I shall endeavour, on the present occasion, to direct attention not merely to the Cathedral itself, but to the various buildings also, by which it is surrounded, and to the peculiar features in their general character and arrangements, which here appear to claim especial consideration. The cloisters on the south side occupy a much larger area than in other Cathedrals, whilst on the north side the Chapter House is built much after the same fashion as that of the Cathedral at Lincoln, and at other places. Most usually, indeed, in Benedictine monasteries, the cloisters were placed surrounding a square area; but in this particular structure you will observe that they occupy only three sides. Besides this church and the cloisters, they had a number of dwellings appropriated, belonging to the peculiar body of men who formerly resided here. Most of the Cathedrals which have already engaged our attention at the annual meetings of the Institute, were governed by Benedictine monks, or monks of some order, and this continued till the time of the Reformation. But this Cathedral, from the earliest period, was ruled by a body of canons presided over by a dean; and accordingly buildings are here found destined for their residence, in various kinds of styles, most of them, however, presenting sufficiently distinct characters to enable us to recognise their age and intention. There is, besides, sufficient authority in the documents of the Cathedral, by which we are enabled to identify them. Here we have the Deanery, a magnificent specimen of domestic architecture. Then there are

various buildings which were inhabited by the canons who had residences, which, in the times of Edward I., were inclosed within the outer walls. Besides, there was attached to this Cathedral a body of men termed "vicars choral," who, in the olden time, used to reside in the town; but great abuses arose, and in consequence this college was erected, occupying two sides of the street, forming a sort of elongated court, and one of the most complete specimens of architecture, half domestic and half ecclesiastic, which could be devised. There is a refectory, and everything complete for their requirements, within these four walls. There is the entrance under the gateway, and also a covered way communicating with the Cathedral, and other arrangements, such as a chapel, and library, with other offices for the accommodation of the establishment. In addition to this, we have one of the most magnificent episcopal palaces in this country. It is walled about like a fortress with bastions and other features of military architecture, and is surrounded by a moat; it would have sustained a long siege, according to the system of warfare in the times of the middle ages. It had various water supplies, and a great quantity of water ran into the moat, and afterwards turned a number of mills in the neighbourhood, as indeed is the case to the present day. We find also, within the area of the palace, a strong military gateway; there was also a hall of large dimensions, a great part of which remains, a noble chapel, and various domestic offices. Besides this may be noticed a remarkable barn, one of those which were frequently erected in the middle ages in monastic establishments, and of which this is a very fine specimen. One of the greatest peculiarities of the gateway which leads into the Bishop's Palace and to the cemetery, is that the entrance and the exit places meet at right angles. I shall now direct your attention to the Architectural History of the Cathedral. The Cathedral contains in itself two sources of history. In the first place it marks its own story by the manner in which the masonry is put together, and which enables those who understand the subject to tell the different portions which were successively constructed. In addition to this, however, we want some data; for we have no continuous history of this Cathedral, or, indeed, of any structure of the kind, and these data are to be found in the valuable and various collections of documents which are preserved in the custody of the Cathedral authorities. These documents, by the kindness of the Dean and Chapter, I have had an opportunity of examining, and I have thus been enabled to glean a good deal of valuable information. I much regret that these documents have hitherto been so much neglected, as they throw great light on the structure of this Cathedral. It may be described as consisting of an Early English nave, front, and transepts; also a portion of the choir, which appears to have been elongated in the late Decorated style. The tower was also carried up in the late Decorated style, with

the admixture of some Perpendicular work, as I shall point out to your notice and explain presently. There is a Decorated Chapter House, besides the two great western towers, the upper parts of which are in the Decorated style.

"I must now occupy your attention by some details in regard to the early history of the Cathedral. In the first place, it may be stated, that Bishop Jocelyn, who presided from 1206 to 1242—the beginning of the Early English style, rebuilt the Church, the old Norman fabric having become exceedingly ruinous. This appears from the ancient evidences, or "History of the Canons of Wells," which contains incidental notices of works that were in progress at various times. These documents are carefully preserved here, amongst the muniments of the Chapter. The first is a great white book, the *Liber albus;* the second, the *Liber rufus*, or red book; and the third is a book, like the first, in white binding, but which does not appear to have had any distinguishing name. These documents contain a vast collection of Chapter acts, of convocations and deliberations, and I find in the Chapter acts that certain changes and alterations of the Cathedral are incidentally spoken of. By these documents to which I have had access, many things are laid open which will assist us much in the investigation. By these evidences we learn that Jocelyn had authority to enlarge, or, as he said, to rebuild the Cathedral, and he succeeded so far in finishing it that he enlarged the nave and completed the parts devoted to the service. To attribute the entire Cathedral, and the west front, to the times of that prelate, as has usually been supposed, must be erroneous. The style of the Cathedral upon examination will be found to be very homogeneous, and it requires a practised eye to distinguish the different styles of the nave and transepts; but I will endeavour to point out some simple indications, which may suffice to show that the style of the transepts is somewhat different from that of the nave, although the general design is the same. There are certain traces by which we can judge where the alterations were made, because the builders, although they adhered as closely as possible to the original design, performed their work in a superior manner to their predecessors. The sculpture is executed with much greater skill; the intermediate compartments also, and the *triforium* between the clerestory windows of the arch above, differ exceedingly in form. This shows that the nave and transepts, and the parts necessary for the service, were first completed, and the rest left unfinished, trusting that a spirit of liberality would be aroused, and that those parts of the edifice then deficient, would subsequently be completed. On proceeding into the choir, it will be noticed that the three first arches are in the same style as those in the transepts. There might have been the same style in the nave as in these transepts; but on going behind and examining them, it will be found that they belonged to the transepts. It is clear,

therefore, that at one time the choir must have been in the same style as the transepts, and it would appear that Jocelyn did not finish the church further than all those parts required for the services, and the nave must have been erected afterwards, when sufficient funds had been collected.

"We have now to ascertain what was the exact length of this part of the structure (at that earlier period), for at present the nave is very much longer than it was originally. It must be observed, that we find three arches of the first period, the Early English style. There are but two piers, however, upon which these arches rest, which are in the Early English style, the other piers appear to be of a subsequent period, in the Decorated style. It seems clear, therefore, that the builders who made this last alteration, found that this pier would not suit their purpose; they would not otherwise have taken the trouble to insert a new one, inasmuch as this was an operation of considerable trouble and difficulty. It was contrary also to the principles of these mediæval architects, who never removed any stone that could by possibility be allowed to remain in its place. It was clear, therefore, that this pier must have been of a different design to the rest; for when the side aisles and the vaulting shafts are examined, it will be found that they are all of this form.

"When we inspect the exterior of the Cathedral an early English wall is noticed, extending for a considerable space, to the part where the Decorated portions begin. I find also that there are large and broad Early English buttresses; and comparing these broad buttresses with the tower, I am led to conclude that the weight originally pressed on the arches at the end, and therefore strong abutments were required on the side aisles; and instead of having smaller supports, we accordingly find large buttresses of this description inserted to sustain that mighty gable. I therefore conclude that at one time the church was cut off with a square end, and a high wall pierced with arches at the end, requiring strong buttresses at the side aisle; and I also infer that this Cathedral had an aisle running round the back of it with a square end. It probably had also a Lady Chapel, with which this aisle communicated, as it is not likely that an aisle would have been provided to go so far, unless it had complete access to the altars. You are probably aware that aisles, thus so running round at the backs of the choirs, were termed procession paths, because the procession of the clergy went out at the doors of the choir into that aisle, and visited the various altars, and performed their devotions at them. These altars, it is well known, were visited with the greatest possible solemnity; this arrangement is very similar to that to be noticed at Salisbury, and doubtless it arose from the aisle communicating with some altar of especial importance; and the reason why it did not quite run round the transept was because the altars were always placed under the east walls, and therefore it was not necessary for any

procession to pass by the transept to visit them. I conceive that the building erected by Bishop Jocelyn extended to a limit very little short of the length of the present fabric, and that the side-aisle walls at this point received a certain interruption. The nature of that interruption must now be explained. As I have on a former occasion described, when speaking of Salisbury Cathedral, it will be found that in the best Early English Cathedrals, the masonry is of the most regular and beautiful description. We are too apt to imagine that the masonry of the middle ages was laid with great regularity; but a close inspection will convince the observer that on the contrary, in Early English Cathedrals the masonry is generally found to be of a regular description, laid in regular courses, but that of the middle ages is quite of a different character; and this is one of the principal means which we have of judging of the periods at which various parts of Cathedrals have been built or restored. For example, in this Cathedral, if the side-aisle walls of the nave are narrowly examined, it will be found that they are much better built than the parts immediately adjoining. There is a great regularity observable until you come to this place, and then you find a totally different arrangement; and in this way we may define three distinct periods in the masonry of the side-aisle walls, and we ascertain three periods also in the nave. In some parts, for instance, it appears on examination that the capitals are less finished than in others: the general style of the mouldings is the same; but there is a certain distinction visible, showing that although probably there was no very great interruption in the work, yet that it must have been completed progressively, and the various portions performed with some intervals of time between each.

"By many this structure would be designated as an Early English Cathedral; but if our Early English Cathedrals, such as Lincoln, Ely, and Salisbury, are examined carefully, there will appear a resemblance between them, showing that they resulted from one school of Art, and from one school of masons, who worked together and understood only one system. They could only design in one style, as to the capitals and the mode in which the mouldings fell on them, and in short the entire disposition of details, and the general proportions of the place. If a person well acquainted with these examples visits Wells Cathedral, he will at once see that the work was wholly done by a different class of builders. Wells Cathedral certainly must have been commenced five or ten years after Lincoln, which was begun at the latter end of the twelfth century. Wells evidently is only a little removed from the early Norman style; it is only an improved Norman design, worked with considerable ornament—the mouldings in particular were of an especial richness. The Early English style of architecture originally (in all probability) came from the French, and there must have been in this district a school of

masons who continued working with their own companions, in their own style, long after the Early English style was introduced and practised in this country. When we examine the front of the Cathedral we find that it is of the ordinary style of Early English, the same in mouldings and composition as at Salisbury and Ely, from which I infer that before the building was completed, in all probability the original architect and his pupils were dead, and disciples of the school of Early English architecture had come in their place, and erected the west front. This is a very curious fact in the history of mediæval architecture, inasmuch as it disturbs the notion which many entertain, that changes in style were simultaneous. It is by no means unnatural that, in a district abounding with stone, a style peculiar to the locality should spring up amongst masons who were always at work together. Thus a Continental origin or influence may be traced in the works of different Cathedrals; but the features here noticed appear to have originated from a totally different cause, and probably from the local advantage—the district affording good stone in profusion. This may account also for the magnificent style of the sculptures, which throughout are of excellent character. The tower is, for the most part, of Early English architecture, and it rises just above the level of the roof. On the outside may be traced the Early English work as high as the level of the roof, and there, in all probability, the tower of the first building terminated, as nothing more was then wanted than a sufficient tower to receive the different roofs, since it will be found that they all abutted on the central tower. It may be noticed also that a higher central tower was not necessary for the different services, and in all probability it was left to be built by those who might subsequently be desirous to contribute towards the good work. It has generally been supposed that Bishop Jocelyn built all this church; but this is probably an erroneous impression. Certain parts of this Cathedral must have been completed during the Early English period; and it has been supposed that the corresponding tower had been built by a Bishop who lived at that time; but there is no sufficient ground for the conclusion. No doubt, at different periods, Bishop Jocelyn succeeded in obtaining from the Chapter and the Canons of the Church powers to improve and restore the Cathedral, and there is much reason to suppose that the Canons themselves supplied a large portion of the funds for carrying on the work. I have succeeded in discovering in the records of the Chapter a series of entries, from time to time, showing that the Canons of the Church taxed themselves voluntarily to the extent of a tithe of their income for five years at a time, whenever any new work was required to be done at the Cathedral. More than that, I find entries showing that the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Taunton voluntarily taxed themselves and sent money for carrying on the works of the church. It appears from the documents to which I have had access, that the clergy of the

Archdeaconry of Taunton transmitted to the Dean and Chapter a tenth or a fifth of their income, and the Dean acknowledged these sums in their books, in order, as he said, that he might show to the world how generous these men were, in order also that it might not be taken as a precedent for any demand in after times, and that they might not be hereafter subjected to a tax, in consequence of that which had been purely a voluntary gift. It was owing to the great works which were carried on from time to time that these extraordinary supplies were required. The first thing to be noticed is under date 1286, when a chapter was called together, and there was laid before them the urgent necessity which appeared from the state of the church, not only that the new structure, which had been a long time begun, should be finished, but that the whole fabric might be repaired and sustained, and such new constructions as were requisite be carried out. In 1286, however, comparing the probable date of the building which I suppose to be called the new structure, it can only be the chapter-house; and the lower part of it, commonly called the crypt, was, as I conclude, then completed. Generally speaking, this crypt is below the church; but at this Cathedral it is on a level with the floor of the church. Here was a great sink, in which they used to carry off all the water employed for washing the church; probably there was also a well in that crypt. The structure of the chapter-house consists of two parts, and it is quite evident that the crypt was separated from the upper part by a very considerable interval. I conceive, therefore, that in 1286 the portion of the chapter-house called the crypt was completed. We find also orders for certain repairs which I imagine must have been connected with the church itself. The next entry to be cited is in 1318, when the Canons voluntarily taxed themselves to the extent of a tenth or a fifth part of their income, for the new campanile or central tower. They were then proposing to erect this central tower, and in 1321 it was successfully finished. It deserves remark, as will be seen on careful examination of the central tower, that the crockets of the great turrets are not in the Decorated style.

"In 1337 and 1338 convocations were called in great dismay on account of some imminent emergencies, stated to be that a settlement was apparent in the work of the tower, and fractures or cracks were in progress; a disaster not uncommon with the mediæval masons, for notwithstanding all that has been said of them, they were unskilful unscientific persons, who went on packing their buildings mass upon mass; and when the edifice began to settle, they had recourse to all sorts of means and expedients to uphold it and set it on its legs again. If we examine carefully we shall see that this Cathedral evidently began to settle in the same way; for there are all the symptoms of the means by which the different towers were strengthened. These towers were

evidently propped after they were carried up, and they are not, as many have said, admirable specimens of foresight. In this case it is quite evident from actual appearances, independent of the entries mentioned in the *Liber albus*, that this tower had sunk into the earth to a greater degree, probably, than was common, on account of the pressure of the arches; for it appears, on inspection, that the rents took place from the crowns of the arches; the damage proceeded distinctly from the apex of the arch, and disturbed with it all the masonry standing upon the arch. It is also found that these arches have been patched up, and the masonry with which they are filled in is of the same character as the masonry of the Early English period. A double arch was put in, which blocked them up, and then large blocks of stone were inserted; the character of the masonry is here of the most perfect kind, and no doubt after these stones were put in, no further disturbance took place in the tower. Besides all this, at the bottom of this tower there is a portion filled up, which I do not remember to have seen in any other tower. This tower has square turrets, and is divided into three great compartments, and each compartment is again divided from top to bottom. When we examine the masonry, from the way in which these parts are inserted it is quite evident that they were put in after the tower began to settle. From bottom to top the central wall runs continuously, and all the rent marks are on the base of these points; they are not in any way attached to the masonry of the other parts; they must therefore have been primed in afterwards. When the tower began to give way, the builders found that it was faulty in its structure, and they used the best means which could be devised to sustain it. They had certainly not improved the tower, although they had given it a character of solidity. Again, when we examine the inside, we find piers corresponding with the mullions which have been introduced in a square form, of a peculiar kind, in some manner to sustain that part of the work. The evidence I have shown from the documents agrees exactly with this evidence, supplied by the fabric itself.

"Our attention may now be directed to another part of the building. The central towers have always been known to be the weak points of a cathedral, and therefore it is that settlements are so frequently there found. It is not surprising therefore, that we should find them bolstered up in such a manner as is here seen. The next portion to be investigated is the Lady Chapel, and here we have great difficulty in ascertaining the date correctly; but I have fortunately found an incidental mention of the work, in the documents already alluded to, which supplies some valuable information on this point. It is a licence from Bishop Tokenfield, dated in 1326, and assigning to one of the Canon's residentiary a piece of his own garden. In describing the portion thus granted, it is stated, that it was about 200 or 300 feet from the east end

of St. Mary's Chapel, lately constructed; there is, therefore, no doubt that the Lady Chapel was finished a few years before 1326. In the description of this piece of garden, there is a special provision that a certain medlar-tree should be most carefully preserved, so that it would thus appear that medlar-trees at that period were exceedingly valued and rare. Again, in 1325, the Canons commenced the construction of new stalls, the old ones being ruinous: they sent to Middleton for the requisite timber, and it should be stated that an order was made, that every Canon should pay for his own stall out of his own resources, a very good precedent; whether the Bishop, however, engaged to construct the episcopal throne does not appear. This fact is interesting, as it shows how the funds were raised in mediæval times for such objects. The construction of the new stall-work leads to the inference that the choir was so far advanced that the Canons might be seated in it, and that in 1325 the choir was nearly finished. This appears to establish a date for that portion. This part is of rich Decorated work, and well deserves a very careful study. It is well known that Bishop Harewell supplied two-thirds of the expense of the South-western Tower, which is carried up in the Perpendicular style; and Bishop Burbidge, about a century afterwards, finished the North-western Tower. Bishop Beckington, who presided in the interval between those two prelates, is well known, by the works of Leland and William of Wyrcestre, as the son of a weaver; he was not only a magnificent architect, but a very generous contributor to the fabric. He repaired the Vicar's Close, and made the West cloister of the church; he also constructed a certain gate at the Close, and he made a great building for the Canons, which cannot now be identified. He made a gate, and a kind of bridge or covered way also, by which the vicars had access to their college. He built also a row of houses in the Market-place; and he had intended to erect another row to match them. These houses have lost much of their mediæval character.

"It has not been ascertained by whom the Palace was built. It has been ascribed to Bishop Jocelyn; and it is said that he also built the Chapel, but this is of a later style than his time. No doubt Bishop Bernall, who lived in the 13th century, built the Hall, which is unfortunately in ruins, but the remains show that it must have been a fine example. In 1330, Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury added to the Palace, and renovated it, and also converted it into a castle. The Deanery House, which is a beautiful specimen of domestic architecture, if not built, was enlarged by John Ganthorpe, in 1472. The Vicar's Close appears to have been first constructed by Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury, in 1330; but the houses for the Canons were built by Bishop Beckington. There was another college erected on a place called Mount Roy, for the use of the chantry or secular priests."

The Professor observed, in conclusion, that he could not refrain from expressing his desire that some member of the chapter, who had free access to the documentary evidences, which he had on the present occasion been permitted to examine, might be induced to institute a more strict investigation than had been compatible with the time he had himself been enabled to devote to the inquiry. He felt convinced from the information he had thence been enabled to derive, that the chapter muniments would throw a new and important light upon the architectural history of the Cathedral, and tend not less to illustrate the general working and influence of ecclesiastical establishments in this country.

After a handsome cold collation at the Deanery, the visitors and members proceeded to a detailed examination of the Cathedral, the Palace, and the adjacent buildings, with the advantages of the Professor's guidance and explanation; and finally took their departure towards Bristol, across the Mendip range; and it was nearly midnight before all the travellers had safely returned to their destination.

Thursday, July 31.—The earlier part of this day was appropriated to the meetings of Sections.

At ten o'clock, the Historical Section assembled at the Theatre of the Institution. The chair having been taken by the President, Henry Hallam, Esq., he observed, in opening the proceedings, that in regard to the subjects usually brought before that division, it had not been customary, nor was it perhaps important, to prescribe any strict line. So far as it could be drawn, he considered it most advisable to enjoin that all communications founded principally upon books or written documents should fall within the department of history, whilst those directly relating to material objects should be brought under the head of antiquities. The practice of the Institute on these occasions had been to give a preference to subjects of local interest and importance, but it should be understood that this was by no means considered as an invariable rule; and he particularly mentioned this, anticipating that very morning an important communication from an eminent Archæologist, who had honoured their meeting at Bristol with his attendance; he alluded to the Chevalier Bunsen, who had prepared a discourse on a subject wholly unconnected with the scenes and historical recollections by which they were actually surrounded.

The Rev. James Lee Warner communicated a memoir on the first octavo edition of Tyndale's New Testament, of which the most perfect copy known to him existed in the library of the Baptists' College, at Bristol. (The memoir will be found in this Volume.)

His Excellency the Chevalier Bunsen then delivered a most interesting dissertation upon the Lake Mœris, demonstrating its artificial

character, and the intention with which it had been formed, for purposes of artificial irrigation. Ancient writers as well as modern had been at variance on this question. The lake is noticed both by Herodotus and Strabo; but one describes it as a natural lake, whilst the other attributed it to human industry. The Chevalier entered into a curious argument to show when this vast work was constructed. He believed it to have been the work of Mœris, successor of Sesostris, who was the Pharaoh by whom Jacob and the Israelites were settled in Goshen.

At the close of the discussion which ensued, a meeting of the Section of Antiquities commenced, Lord Talbot de Malahide presiding, who opened the proceedings with observations on the flint weapons of the early Irish people, of which many rare and well characterised examples might be seen at the Temporary Museum. He called attention, especially, to the singular knife of *silex*, which he had brought for the inspection of the Society, having by way of haft some of the fibrous bog-moss wrapped around it, so as to be commodiously grasped by the hand.

Professor Buckman, F.G.S., of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, gave a dissertation on the chemical composition of some ancient British and Roman beads of glass, with the view of distinguishing those of different periods. He produced numerous specimens found at Cirencester and other places, and gave some notices of recent discoveries of Roman remains at Corinium, such as coins, relics of bronze, pottery, &c.

The Architectural Section assembled, by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, in the Chapter House. J. H. Markland, Esq., President of the Section, opened the proceedings with an address, which is given in the present volume (see page).

A memoir by Mr. Britton, entitled "Remarks on the Topography and Archæology of Bristol and its Vicinity," was read by Mr. Godwin.

At the close of this communication, the Rev. T. M. Traherne made some observations on the Castle of Caldecott, in Monmouthshire, referring to an account of it given by Mr. Freeman, in a late number of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

Mr. Freeman said, that the building referred to was indeed one of the most beautiful specimens of castellated architecture he knew, the excellence of the masonry and detail, chiefly of the Decorated era, fully equalling the best ecclesiastical work. He had unfortunately not been able to devote so much time to it as he could have wished, but he should most strongly recommend an examination of it to all who had an opportunity; and he thought it very desirable that it should, if possible, be included in the proposed expedition to Caerleon. With more immediate reference to Mr. Britton's paper, Mr. Freeman stated that he should be much obliged to any one who could favour him with any authentic in-

formation with regard to the dates and architects of any of the magnificent towers of Bristol and Somersetshire, some references to which had been made in the course of Mr. Britton's paper. He was then engaged in an examination of them, but had been able to obtain historical information only in a very few cases. The finest examples of the Somersetshire towers formed * two classes. The first includes those in which the tower consisted of unconnected stages piled one upon another, any one of which might be conceived as removed, and in which the pinnacles have frequently very little connection with the composition below. Of this Taunton is well known as one of the finest specimens. In the other class the whole upper part of the tower was in fact one vast stage, one uninterrupted mass of panelling, and the pinnacles generally form a continuation of angular turrets or pilasters; as at Wrington, Glastonbury, and that splendid church of St. Cuthbert at Wells, which Mr. Freeman trusted that no one who had made the previous day's excursion had omitted to visit. Those in the city of Bristol formed one general class with those of Somersetshire; but the best specimens in the city, many indeed also in the neighbourhood, had their own distinctive peculiarities, especially in the great predominance given to the staircase turret, which in the second class does not exist at all, and in the first is of no great consequence. The finest of this sort is St. Stephen's, which however has a further character quite peculiar to itself, especially the extremely slight projection of the buttresses, seeming almost like a Gothic translation of the old Italian campanile.

Mr. JOHN NORTON gave a notice of the proposed restoration of the Bristol High Cross; and he exhibited a model, illustrative of the arrangements actually in progress for the erection of the cross at the eastern extremity of the College Green.

At two o'clock the Sections dispersed, the annual service at St. Mary, Redcliffe, having been fixed for that hour, commemorating the establishment of the Canynges Society, instituted for carrying out the restorations of that church. On this occasion, the sermon was preached by the Very Rev. the Dean of Bristol. At the conclusion of the service, a memoir on the history and architectural features of the fabric was read by George Godwin, Esq., F.R.S., the architect engaged in the restoration; and he accompanied the visitors in an examination of the structure, pointing out the progress of the repairs hitherto carried out in a most satisfactory manner, and the extensive works of renewal still necessary, should the requisite funds be supplied.

* See History of Architecture, p. 386. The author has since worked out this subject more at length, in a paper read before the Somersetshire Archæological Society.

Of the interesting observations delivered by Mr. Godwin on this occasion, he has kindly supplied the following abstract:—

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL.

I regret very much that continued occupations of an absorbing character have prevented me from investigating the early history of this time-honoured monument, St. Mary's Church, Redcliffe, as it deserves. Piety, science, art, literature, and mystery have jointly and severally put their mark on this structure, and have made it an object of interest to so many classes of minds, that there are few buildings in the country which have so wide a fame. Founded, completed, and re-edified by Bristol merchants, the Christian (even if careless of material beauty) may view it as a noble monument of the stintless devotion of men in early times,—of men who thought not of the "nicely calculated less or more," and considered no expenditure short of the utmost of their power sufficient offering in the cause of God,—a spirit, I may say in passing, which is not extinct in our day. The antiquary, the architect, and the man of taste find in it an exhibition of skill and inventive power of the highest character, producing, as a result, extraordinary beauty: it is, to them, too, the autograph of a past time, speaking loudly and not uninstructively to the present. Further, there are models for the draughtsman, an involved history to exercise the ingenuity of the investigator, and a peculiarity in the arrangement of the work of different periods at the West End, which increase the difficulty of the disentanglement. Then for the poet, the student of mind in all its strange and startling phases, the biographer, and the lover of romance, its connection with the "wondrous boy who perished in his pride,"—the unhappy Chatterton, who, wanting so little, lost so much—a pure renown,—has made it a shrine demanding a pilgrimage.

The accessible materials for tracing the history of the church are scanty, but might doubtless be now increased by a diligent investigator. I must here remind you that Mr. Britton has brought together a variety of scattered notices in his interesting published "Account of Redcliffe Church."

Redcliffe appears to have been wholly distinct from Bristol till the bridge was built, and special charters were given to the men of Redcliffe,—one, for example, from Henry III. in 1247.*

Grants for the erection of a church here as early as 1207 are mentioned by Barrett in "The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol." Others are dated 1229, 1232, &c. There is an indulgence excusing ten days' penance to all who contributed to the repair of St.

* The men of Redcliffe are still "clannish."

Mary's, Redcliffe, dated 1246. Going on, chronicles mention that a church was built here by Sir Simon de Burton and others, about 1294: he was mayor of Bristol six times between 1291 and 1304.

In 1376, the first William Canynges, according to Barrett, built tho body of Redcliffe Church "from the cross-aisle downwards." In 1380 the work was still going on. This William Canynges was mayor six times: his will is dated 1396.

The spire was thrown down by lightning in 1445-6, and did great harm to the church; but the damaged parts were restored by the second William Canynges, aided by other inhabitants of the district.

Doubts have been expressed as to the extent to which Burton and the first Canynges personally contributed; but there seems to be no question about the fact, that to the second William Canynges, whose "worthy deeds declare a worthy wight," the church was greatly indebted: so much so, that he is popularly, though erroneously known as the founder. He was the grandson of the first-named Canynges, was born about 1400, was mayor five times, and died 1475. William Wyrcestre calls him "the richest and the wisest merchant" (*ditissimus et sapientissimus mercator*). George Canning, the statesman, was one of his descendants. Dallaway, who has given a sketch of William Canynges' life, describes the residence that he built for himself in Small-street. After the death of his wife, in 1460, he determined on dedicating himself to the Church; and ultimately became dean of the College of Westbury. He died in 1474 or 1475; and by his will he left his residuary property in trust for public works in the city of Bristol.

And now let us see what we find left of the various structures which have occupied the site. The church consists of an outer and inner north porch, a tower, nave with aisles, south porch, transepts with aisles (a rare occurrence), residences, and Lady Chapel.

The inner north porch and lower part of the tower are Early English in style, and might be earlier than Simon de Burton: they certainly are not later. The north porch and the upper part of tower are of the Decorated period, and *may* have been part of Burton's church. The south transept, the south porch, and much of the interior, are very little later, and may be attributed to the first William Canynges. The remainder of the church is Perpendicular, and belongs to the time of the second William Canynges. It should be noticed that the groined vaulting of the south aisle of the nave is inferior in character, and more recent in date than the vaulting of other parts of the church. If we knew this to be part of the reinstatements made by the second Canynges after the fall of the spire, the inference would be that he built less of the structure than has been supposed.

We found corroborative evidence of the existence of a church of the same date as the inner porch (Early English), in taking down the cleres-

tory of the chancel (or "Overstorye," as William of Wyrcestre calls it); some of the old stonework being worked up in the walls. The external wall of the south aisle of the nave may be part of this early church. The attached half-pillars which received the groining in a make-shift way, differ from all the others.

William of Wyrcestre, already quoted, called also William Bottoner (his mother's maiden name), and who lived in the fifteenth century, has left in his "Itinerarium, or Book of Memorable Things," many curious memoranda and details respecting St. Mary's, Redcliffe; but it will be unnecessary for me on this occasion to do more than refer to a few of them. Bottoner was born (according to Dallaway) in 1415, and died about 1484, so that he was contemporary with the second William Canynges.

The "Itinerary" is written in a very desultory manner, in bad Latin, with a curious mixture of the vernacular; and the dimensions are given in "steps," &c., not very precisely. Still it is not without value. We learn from him that Norton was master of the works there ("*magistri operum*") at the time he wrote,—perhaps the architect. He takes one of his dimensions from the house of the workers in freestone, "*pro fundacione ecclesiæ de Radclyff*," and speaks of the residence for the chantry priests erected in the churchyard by Canynges. We learn from him that there was a fair cross in the middle of the churchyard,* and the detailed description he has left of the mouldings in the western door (from the description of Norton), the "freemason work" as he calls it, has served Professor Willis as the basis of his work on the "Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages."

Camden, in his "Britannia," speaking of the growth of the city, and that there were hospitals built for the poor, and "neat churches for the glory of God," says,—"Amongst the rest the most beautiful is St. Mary's of Radcliff without the walls, into which is a stately ascent by a great many stairs. So large is it, the workmanship so exquisite, and the roof so artificially vaulted with stone, and the tower so high, that in my opinion it goes much beyond all the parish churches in England I have yet seen. In it the founder,† William Canninges, has two honorary monuments: the one is his image in the habit of a magistrate, for he was five times mayor of this city; the other an image of the same person in clergyman's habit, for in his latter days he took orders, and was dean of the college which himself founded at Westbury."‡ This second monument, I may mention, was originally at Westbury, but when that building was destroyed in 1643, the monument was removed to Redcliffe.

* "Crux pulcherrima artificione operata est in medio dicti cimiterii."
† This term is erroneous, as we have seen.
‡ Gibson's edition, 1695.

The books and papers belonging to the church, of which there are many, are for the most part in a good state, and would doubtless afford some interesting particulars, if properly examined. In the course of a very hasty inspection, I observed a deed as to the lands for the endowment of Canynges' Chantries of St. Catherine and St. George, dated 1468. These lands were sold at the Dissolution by the commissioners of King Henry VIII.

A chantry was an endowment to provide for the chanting of masses for the souls of the testators or others. The bequest usually directed the erection of a chapel, in which the service was to be performed, and the term has come to be applied to the building. Many of our cathedrals and minsters contain specimens of these chantry chapels.

The most interesting document that I saw in the vestry was the inventory of the furniture for the "Easter Sepulchre," given to the church by Canynges. As all know, it was the practice before the Reformation to set up in the churches, on the north side of the chancel, near the altar, a representation of the Entombment of Christ. A recess for the purpose, sometimes ornamented with sculptured decorations, may be seen in many of our churches. The crucifix was placed in the sepulchre on Good Friday, and watched till Easter Day, when it was taken out. The document in question, which has been several times printed, but not correctly, is as follows:—

"Me^{d}. That Mayster Canynges hath delyrded the iiij day of Jule, in the yere of our Lorde 1470, to Maist^{r} Nicholas Pyttes, Vicar of Redclif, Moyses Conteryn, Phelip Berthemew, and John Browne, procurators of St. Mary Redclif byforesaid, a new sepulcre well gilte with fyne golde, and cever thereto.

"Item an ymage of God Almyghty risyng oute of the same sepulcre, with all the ordynance that 'longeth thereto, that is to say, a lath made of tymb^{r} and the yron worke thereto, &c.

"Item thereto 'longeth Hevyn, made of tymb^{r} and steyned clothes.

"Item, Hell made of tymb^{r} and yron worke, with devells the number of xiij.

"Item iiij knyghtes armed kepynge the sepulcre with their wepyns in their honds, that is to sey, ij speres with ij pavyes.

"Item iiij peyr of angels' whynges for iiij angels made of tymb^{r} and well peynted.

"Item the ffader the crowne and visage the ball with a crosse upon, well gilte with fyne golde.

"Item the Holy Goste comyng out of Hevyn into the sepulcre.

"Item longyng to iiij angells iiij chevelers."

"The Booke of the Accompte," dated 1548 to 1580, was the earliest I saw: from that date the series seems complete.

In the first year of Mary there is a payment to the ringers at the proclamation of the "Quene;" also entry of the sum paid for a "masse booke." In the first year of Elizabeth mass and processions were still going on, and there are payments for the bearing of the cross, for large candles, and frankincense; but in the second year of her reign we find payments for taking out the image and for painting Scripture in its place, also for taking down the high altar.

There is an agreement dated in the reign of Charles I. (1636) made with a carpenter for a new loft and frame for the bells. There is also a a bond, dated 1768, from Thomas Bilbie for casting four bells.

The iron gates in the church are excellent pieces of workmanship; some of these were made by William Edney, smith. In the books I find a payment to him, in the year 1710, of 60*l.* for iron gates to chancel; and another of 50*l.* for two pair of gates at side of chancel, and two pair of hatches into middle chancel.

In this year, by the way, bricks in Bristol were 16*s.* per thousand; free-stone 11*d.* per cubic foot.

In the previous year, 1709, considerable repairs were made; the authorities buying the materials and employing their own workmen.* The church was pewed in this year at the cost, according to Barrett, of 784*l.* 13*s.*

Continuing our brief examination of the accounts, I may mention that two windows on the south side, namely, the second from the west end, and the third "from the churchyard in the cross isle, and fronting towards the west," were restored by W. Harrison, mason, in 1792, at the cost of 147*l.* 7*s.*, James Allen being the architect employed.

In going round the interior you will notice especially the beauty and variety of the vaultings; the wonderful play of light and shade, and the effect of extent given by the plan; the beauty of the arches and their mouldings; the loftiness of the columns; and I think you will all express an anxious wish that the present cumbrous and obscuring pews and fittings may speedily be removed; and that this noble church may be seated in a manner consistent with the style of the building, and calculated to display to advantage its beautiful proportions. The organ, too, should take a different shape. The doorway to the residence attached to the chancel aisle, the window at the end of each transept, and the carved bosses in the groinings, all demand examination. Of these latter, there are in the church no less than 1117, displaying wonderful variety in design, and most beautiful drawing.

You will notice both on Canynges' monument and in the stained glass (of which there are many interesting remnants) Canynges' mark.†

* The weekly expenses are recorded.

† Hunt, in "Exemplars of Tudor Architecture," quotes an ancient system of heraldry in the British Museum, which

[A further description of the interior, some mention of the monuments, which are very various, and various comments, we are forced to omit.]

The whole length of the church and Lady Chapel inside I find to be 239 feet, and the width 52 feet. The transept, from north to south, is 117 feet 6 inches, and the width 47 feet. The chancel and aisles form nearly a square. The length of the nave up to the organ gallery is the same as that of the chancel, namely, 60 feet. The height of the chancel, from pavement to crown of vaulting, is 53 feet.

The inside of the *north porch*, a hexagon in plan, presents many peculiarities, and much to admire. The bosses of the vaulted roof are all of foliage of very elegant design, and were orignially, like the vaultings of the rest of the church, painted and gilded. Midway up the walls there is a passage all round the porch in the thickness of the walls, and some curiously carved corbels will be noticed there. In one of these, two men reclining are each holding up a leg to form the support. You will notice, too, the beautiful carving of the ornaments in the cornice of the arcade,—busts, and animals, and men amongst foliage: in one a goat and boy; in another a man and monkey; and in a third a cripple, with a cat, and a dog barking at it. In the spandrils of the west door inside, there are four singularly interesting figures: two of them seem to be intended to represent Samson in his adventure with the lion.

The form of the windows is very peculiar, produced by the series of niches outside. How the spaces beneath them were originally decorated internally is a question.

In the south-western side of the hexagon is a small apartment formed in the thickness of the wall, which may have been a penitential cell, or a place for the exposition of relics. The door was originally in the centre, and there was a grated opening on each side. In the inner porch, and near the last-mentioned recess, there is another small apartment. The north face of the outer porch is occupied by the principal doorway, a singularly elegant and peculiar design. In the south-east face there is a second doorway, and, strange to say, in the north-west face (opposite to the last) there was originally a third doorway (now blocked up) beautifully ornamented externally.

The reason for this singular arrangement is a matter for discussion. William Wyrcestre calls this porch the chapel of the blessed Mary, and describes the outside in his mixed language as being adorned with statues of kings curiously made in free-stone work:—"*Cum ymaginibus regum operatis subtiliter in opere de frestone.*" In this chapel there was for-

says as to a shield of this sort,—"Theys be none armys, but a *marke* as *marchaunts* use, for every mane may take hyme a marke, but not armys without an herawde or pur cyvaunte."

merly an "Image of our Lady decorated with a fyne cloth with frynge to cover her."*

The sculpture on the outside of the porch is executed with great skill: the spirit and vigour in the figures forming the upper range of corbels are especially noticeable. In the lower range figures of men or beasts alternate with foliage.

The external decoration of the north door is both singular and beautiful. It is cuspidated, "fretted in the hede" as William of Wyrcestre says of the west door, and the carved enrichments of the head follow a similar line. In the principal member around the doorway entwining stems form a series of diamond-shaped compartments, which originally contained foliage and a figure, alternately.†

It affords an example of the peculiarity in Gothic architecture that whatever decoration may be overlaid, the geometric form of the moulding is observable.

The *Inner Porch* is a very elegant specimen of Early English Gothic: you will especially notice the crisply curling leaves of the capitals of the Purbeck marble shafts in the arcade which surrounds the walls. This crisp foliage, rising with stiff stems from the neck-moulding, is an unmistakeable characteristic of the style. In the *Decorated*, which succeeded it, the foliage is usually carried round the bell, more wreathlike, and exhibits a closer imitation of nature and much greater freedom.

The vaulting of the Inner Porch, too, is much simpler. This porch was the external entrance to the church, and the doorway presented a rich cluster of shafts and arch mouldings. When the new porch was joined on to it, these were cut away very ruthlessly, in order to admit of the introduction of a canopied niche on each side at the junction,—showing very little concern on the part of the architect of the new porch for the works of his predecessors. We found pieces of the columns that were removed worked up in the walls of the outer porch.

There is an apartment over each porch, and both are remarkable; one,—namely, that over the earlier structure,—for its arrangement, having a fire-place and *necessarium*, or place for the discharge of refuse; and the second as being the depository of the old chests from which Chatterton took, as he asserted, the writings which led to so much controversy, and made his name world-famous. That he did find some here, though he forged others, I have not the slightest doubt.

Porches in all styles of Pointed architecture have, not unusually, a room over them: that over the inner porch at St. Mary's, Redcliffe, having a fireplace, may have been intended for the residence of an anchorite, or the Sacristan. A room in this position is sometimes called

* Quoted by Barrett.

† Over the west doorway in the porch there are a boy and goat amongst the foliage; over the east door two men, probably typifying hunting and hawking—one has a bird, the other an animal.

A Parvise, but the designation would seem to be erroneous. The "Paradise," or Parvise, is the name that was of old time applied to an open space or court next a church.

In "A Description of the Form, and Manner how, and by what Orders or Customs, the State of the Fellowship of the Middle Temple is maintained," written in the time of King Henry VIII., reference is made to the Temple Church, London, as having during term time "no more quietnesse than the *pervyse* of Paul's."

At Chichester, the area enclosed by the cloisters is still called "Paradise;" and on the houses which surround the open area about the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, is written up *Le Parvis*.

The room over the north porch of Hawkhurst Church, Kent, was anciently called "The Treasury,"* and still contains, in a chest, old writings. The same name, according to Barrett, was given to the room over the outer porch at Redcliffe: he quotes a deed of Canynges, which describes a chest as being "*in domo thesauraria Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Redclive.*"

I shall be pardoned, I hope, if I digress for a few minutes to remind you of the extraordinary boy whose memory is inseparably connected with this muniment-room, of whom even Walpole, in a letter to the editor of "Chatterton's Miscellanies," in reply to an insinuation that he was the cause of the poet's distress and consequent death, says:—"I do not believe that there ever existed so masterly a genius, except that of Psalmanaazar, who, before twenty-two, could create a language that all the learned of Europe, though they suspected, could not detect." The literary imposition that Chatterton successfully attempted is well known; the high poetic feeling and the powers of imagination shown in the compositions themselves are less so. They cannot be read now without regret, apart from the feeling which arises against violation of truth, that he should have wasted ingenuity and industry to lock them up in an obscure and obsolete phraseology. In a state of extreme destitution, as you will remember, he unhappily destroyed himself before he was eighteen, and was interred in the burial-ground of Shoe-lane Workhouse, now the site of Farringdon-market, Holborn. In the register of burials in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, under the date August 28, 1770, I found this entry:—"*William* Chatterton, Brooks-street;"—to which has been added at another time "The Poet:"—correctly, notwithstanding that his Christian name was Thomas, not William; but such mistakes in registers were more common then than now.

Some time ago a monument in commemoration of Chatterton was raised by public subscription, in the angle formed by the north porch and the tower of St. Mary's, Redcliffe. In consequence of the works now going on, it was taken down, and is at present in the crypt of the

* Oxford Glossary.

church. The committee will doubtless re-erect it where it may be seen to greater advantage than it was there.

Amongst the church papers to which I have alluded, is the humble petition to the vestry of St. Mary's, Redcliffe, of William Chatterton, setting forth that he was then a ticket-porter at the Tolzey, and praying to be appointed sexton in the place of his brother-in-law. It sets forth that John Chatterton, his father, was sexton there for thirty years. This is dated January 22, 1772, seventeen months after the untimely death of the poet, and serves to give an idea of the condition of the family.

Returning to the building,—the church is founded on the living rock, the colour of which gives its name to the locality; and this rock shelving greatly from south to north, the floor of the church is at a considerable height from the ground on the latter side. A crypt is formed here beneath the north transept and the priest's residence; and there is a vaulted passage-way from one side of the church to the other, under the east end of the Lady Chapel. In going round you will be sure to observe the boldness and beauty of the mouldings in this basement. You will notice, too, the peculiarity of the bulb-shaped covering (scale-covered), on the north turret of the Lady Chapel.

The priest's residence, attached to the north side of the chancel, is singularly interesting as an example of ancient domestic architecture. The large coarse heads on the turret of this part show a late style of art.

The Tower is exceedingly beautiful, especially the upper part of it. I know no building which is more so. The Early English work reaches as high as the string of quatrefoils above the series of niches. The basement may be even earlier than this: at all events, the masonry is of a ruder description. Above the quatrefoils, the whole is of the Decorated period, contemporary with the outer porch, and with its buttresses, turrets, and richly ornamented panelling, is unrivalled. Two of the statues, which formerly filled niches in the lower part of the tower, remain, and these seem not to have been made for their position. One is a bearded male figure; the other, a female figure, crowned, holding something in each hand.

The portion of the spire which remains is 26 feet 4 inches in diameter at the bottom, and 36 feet high. The masonry composing it is 2 feet 3 inches thick at bottom, and tapers in the height of 19 feet to 8½ inches, of which thickness it continues to the top.

Bottoner, after describing the spire, says, "*Quidem spira stat modo ultra C pedes,*"—"stands at the present time (1480) above 100 feet." Dallaway, in his edition of "The Itinerary,"* says—"Are we to con-

* *Bristol Mirror* office. 1834.

clude that the spire, after having been struck by lightning, was still 100 feet high?" and suggests that, as it has not such an elevation now, it had been written "*stetit modo*"—"stood once, or not long since."

I am disposed to think, however, that Bottoner meant to give the height it then was, and that this height was greater than it is now, and was very probably the 100 feet he speaks of; for, in another place, he says, the width of the parapet, or *Le Garlond* as he calls it, round the top of the broken spire, is 11 feet.* Whereas the present diameter of the top of the spire is about 20 feet; moreover, if the lines of the spire be carried out to the height of 100 feet, the width there will be found to be about 11 feet.

[An account of the labours of the committee, and the progress of the restoration, which followed here, together with a verbal description of the church, we omit.]

The present deplorable condition of the building must distress every lover of our ancient architecture. Externally it is a crumbling ruin; the parapets falling, the walls splitting, and the spirets on the tower so disrupted and decaying as to threaten, at no distant period, some serious catastrophe. On the question of "restoration" generally,—none would oppose more earnestly than I would the destruction of an ancient edifice, with all its associations and time tints, to substitute for it a new copy, however well executed, so long as it could be maintained fit for its purpose. And, indeed, in the case of a sepulchral monument, from which nothing is required but as a record, so long as one stone could be kept on another, so long would I retain the original memorial, a thousand times more interesting and suggestive than any imitation of it could possibly be. Most earnestly, therefore, should it be impressed on all authorities who have charge of our architectural glories and sepulchral memorials of the departed great, to obtain for them such early and constant attention that they may be long preserved in their original condition. The "stitch in time" of the homely proverb applies as forcibly to a structure as to a stocking.

In the case of St. Mary's, Redcliffe, however, no question of this sort arises. If it be not renewed, its character must utterly pass away. There is but little of the exterior of the church that can possibly be maintained; and if we would preserve the structure for its sacred purpose, and transmit to posterity the noble specimen of skill and piety which our forefathers gave to us in *trust*, there is no other course than restoration—conducted with a pains-taking and anxious desire to make the building what it originally was.

Chatterton, Dallaway, and others, spoke of the restoration of the north porch as a thing not likely to be attempted; yet we now see that by the

* *Latitudo de la Garlond continet xi. pedes.*

unlooked-for interference of an earnest individual studiously concealing himself from praise,—one acting up to the opinion that—

> "Who builds a church to God and not to Fame,
> Will never mark the marble with his name"—

this is now being done.*

Pride of country, love of beauty, and duty to God, all prompt so strongly to the completion of the restoration, that I have no doubt whatever as to the result. GEORGE GODWIN.

The annual dinner took place on this day at the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, and the members of the Canynges Society joined the members of the Institute in a joint banquet, the chair being taken by Mr. Harford, President of both societies. With the customary toasts on these occasions, were united several, expressive of interest in the undertaking promoted by the Canynges Society. Amongst those distinguished guests by whom the company were addressed, may be named the Chevalier Bunsen, Lord Talbot, the Bishop of Oxford, the Mayor of Bristol, the Master of Trinity College Cambridge, the Principal of Brasenose College, the Dean of Bristol, Sir Charles Anderson, bart., Mr. Hallam, Mr. Alderman Pountney, Mr. Heywood, M.P., and Mr. Britton.

Friday, August 1.—The sections resumed their proceedings this morning. In the Historical Section, Mr. HALLAM presided, and a dissertation was delivered by Mr. GUEST upon "The Saxon Conquest of West Britain," in continuation of his Memoirs communicated at the previous annual meetings at Salisbury and Oxford.

CAPTAIN CHAPMAN, R. E., communicated some remarks on names of places, supposed to be of Celtic origin, and notices of the ancient population of Bath at various periods, as shown by the Subsidy Rolls, *temp.* Edw. III., the Poll Tax, 2 Rich. II., and the Lists of Citizens elected to serve in Parliament from A.D. 1298, with detailed observations upon the derivations of the surnames occurring in these documents.

* The story is a curious one. On the 22nd of June, 1848, Mr. Thomas Proctor, the indefatigable Chairman of the Restoration Committee, received a letter, signed "Nil Desperandum," inquiring if the committee would obtain drawings from their architect for the restoration of the north porch, and estimates from three respectable contractors in Bristol, for the execution of the work, to enable the writer to judge whether or not it would be in his power to provide sufficient funds to carry it out. The letter pointed out the mode of correspondence to be adopted, made secrecy an express condition of his contribution, stipulated that no effort should be made to discover him (his letters were to be seen by none but the chairman), and inclosed 20*l.* as an evidence of his sincerity. The committee of course gladly fell into his views, and the required tenders were obtained. The amount of the lowest was 2,500*l.*, a large sum when the size of the structure is considered; and when "Nil Desperandum" was informed of it, he at once replied, that it so far exceeded his anticipation that he could not engage to proceed under it. He offered, however, to furnish a certain sum of money, and to make a further contribution in the course of a year, and more afterwards if the committee would undertake to expend it in the shape of Caen stone and labour, under the direction of their architect. This the committee assented to, and the works have been going on gradually ever since, money coming regularly as it is needed.

In the Section of Antiquities Lord TALBOT presiding, Mr. YATES read a Memoir on the ancient statue known as "The Dying Gladiator." (Printed in this Volume, page 99.)

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., offered some interesting remarks upon the assay and year marks used by goldsmiths in England, and stated that he had been able to carry back the latter to a much more distant period than was comprised in the lists of the Goldsmiths' Company, thus affording the means of precisely ascertaining the date of fabrication of ancient English plate. (Printed in Archæol. Jour. Vol. IX. p. 125.).

The Rev. W. GUNNER read some curious extracts from the Roll of household expenses of William of Wykeham, in the year 1394.

The Architectural Section assembled in the Chapter-House, and the chair was taken by Mr. MARKLAND. The first communication was on the preservation of the remaining sculptures on the west front of Wells Cathedral, by Mr. EDWARD RICHARDSON. One of the regal statues had fallen at the time of the assizes in the previous year; and through the liberality of Mr. Markland, and the encouragement of Archdeacon Brymer, its restoration had been accomplished.

The next Memoir was a dissertation "On The Stained Glass at Bristol Cathedral, the Mayor's Chapel, and Wells Cathedral," by Mr. CHARLES WINSTON. (Printed in this Volume.)

Mr. CLARK then read a Memoir on "Sepulchral Monuments existing in the Cathedral and Churches of Bristol." (Given in this Volume.)

At the close of the meeting, Mr. Pope accompanied those present to the Mayor's Chapel, and pointed out the interesting features of its architecture, the tombs and effigies, the decorative pavement of Spanish tiles, and other curious details in that building.

In the afternoon many members availed themselves of the kind permission of WILLIAM MILES, Esq., M.P., to visit his celebrated gallery of paintings at Leigh Court.

A *conversazione* was held at the Institution in the evening, the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS presiding. Mr. D. W. NASH, M.R.S.L., and Foreign Secr. to the Syro-Egyptian Society, read a dissertation "On the Kassiteros of the Greeks, and the Name Kassiterides applied to the British Islands."

A Memoir was read by the late Mr. W. TYSON, F.S.A., "On some Public Transactions in Bristol, in the Reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV." (Printed *infra*, p. 28.)

A Memoir was also communicated by Mr. J. W. PAPWORTH, upon surnames, and the information to be derived from heraldry, as indicating identity of names which have become strangely corrupted or transformed, by time or casual errors, so as to appear quite distinct.

Saturday, August 2. The Historical Section again assembled at the Institution, Mr. HALLAM presiding.

A Memoir was read, entitled—"Observations on the Connection of

Bristol with the Party of De Montfort," by SAMUEL LUCAS, Esq., M.A. (Printed in this Volume, page 13.)

Mr. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Descent of the Earldom of Gloucester." (Printed *infra*, p. 65.)

In the Section of Antiquities the chair was taken by Mr. HAWKINS.

GEORGE OMEROD, Esq., D.C.L., communicated a dissertation "On British and Roman Remains, illustrating Communications with Venta Silurum, and Ancient Passages of the Bristol Channel." (Printed in this Volume, page 40.)

Mr. GODWIN gave "A Notice of a Singular Tomb in St. Philip's Church, Bristol." (Printed in this Volume.)

PROFESSOR BUCKMAN gave an account, illustrated by drawings, of some very ancient sculptures in Daglingworth Church, Gloucestershire.

A communication was read from Mr. HARROD, accompanying a series of beautiful illuminated drawings, sent by the kindness of DAWSON TURNER, Esq. They represented ancient stained glass at Martham, near Yarmouth, with portions of the series formerly at that place, and which Mr. Harrod had succeeded in tracing to the adjacent church of Mulbarton. They had been removed thither by a former incumbent. Mr. Dawson Turner sent also a drawing of a very singular Roman fictile vase, lately disinterred at Burgh Castle. The neck had the form of a female head.

Mr. QUICKE read a short notice of the singular discovery of a covered cup of crystal, mounted with silver gilt, in the cloisters of the church at Hill Court, Gloucestershire. The cup was exhibited in the museum.

Mr. FRANKS read some observations "On Decorative Tiles, with Heraldic Bearings, found in Churches in Somersetshire, and described by Mr. Lewis Way." (Printed in this Volume.) Mr. Franks gave also a notice of the unique pavement of Spanish tiles, properly designated as *azuleios*, in the Mayor's Chapel. They are enamelled in various colours, and resemble specimens brought from the *Alcazar* at Seville. They appear to be of the time of the Emperor Charles V., and were probably imported by some Bristol merchant who traded with Spain.*

Mr. DANIEL PARSONS produced a collection of book-plates, and required information in regard to the earliest occurrence of any such engraved marks to be inserted in books.

In the Architectural Section Mr. MARKLAND presided. A Memoir was read by Mr. Bindon, "On destroyed or desecrated Churches in Bristol, illustrated by a Map of the City showing the Sites." (Given in this Volume.)

The Rev. JOHN ECCLES CARTER offered some remarks "On the Architectural History and Peculiar Features of Bristol Cathedral;" with a preliminary acknowledgment of the kindness of Mr. Pope, the architect

* Lysons has given a representation of these tiles, in his "Gloucestershire Antiquities."

many years employed upon the works at that fabric, and who had freely afforded every information which his intimate acquaintance with the building and experience enabled him to supply. Mr. Carter also expressed his obligation to Mr. Bindon, by whose kindness the illustrative diagrams submitted to the meeting had been provided. He proceeded to address the section, as follows:—

"The architectural description is all I can attempt; for whatever documents existed relative to the history of the Cathedral, were destroyed at the Bristol riots. The only original document of authority remaining is a roll of the time of Abbot Newland, preserved in the muniment-room of Berkeley Castle; and having failed to obtain access to this on a former occasion, I have thought it useless to make another attempt. The *Computa* remaining in the Chapter Room do not bear date previous to the dissolution of the Abbey. I have, therefore, had no means of verifying any printed accounts. According to the commonly received opinion, the monastery of St. Augustine was founded in the year 1142, by Robert Fitzharding.

"The earliest remains visible of this structure are some corbels in the triforium staircase. Next in date I find this splendid room in which we are assembled, and its vestibule. And while we lament the ravages of the Bristol rioters, in 1831, as regards the documents, we have to acknowledge their services in having brought into notice this most interesting and peculiar structure. As to the room itself, I must venture to point out that it is not Norman, as commonly stated; but Transitional, as may be observed from the central groining arch being slightly pointed, and the whole character of the groining gives evidence of the same fact.

"The vestibule, itself a singular instance in this country of a vestibule to a chapter room, contains a striking peculiarity of the Transitional style, as the arches from east to west are round, while those from north to south are pointed; the nailhead moulding runs round the arches, and the Norman cushioned capital pervades the whole.

"Leading to the Lower College Green from the Upper is a fine Norman or Semi-Norman gateway, in excellent preservation, and in the Lower Green is a gate which led into the bishop's palace, of very peculiar construction, of the same date. Several fragments of the building of this period, may be found scattered about in old buildings in the Lower Green.

"The parts of the original structure remaining in the present Cathedral I conceive to be all the walls, as high as the floor of the triforium gallery, the two westernmost piers of the choir, and the buttresses at the western angles of the tower. In this arrangement we recognise the almost invariable rule of the old builders not to disturb more than suited their present purpose; and as it would seem their object in disturbing the old building was to raise a loftier choir (for there could not have been any decay to demand a reparation of the fabric), they left the

old foundations, and proceeded by degrees to erect the building which we have now to examine.

"The next date of building to those just mentioned I find to be the Lady Chapel, on the north side of the choir, erected about the middle of Henry III.'s reign, *circa* 1234. This it must be allowed is a very beautiful structure. The detached vaulting shafts are of Purbeck marble, now painted over; and the carving of the capitals and string courses is of the most grotesque and elaborate character.

"The present Deanery was also most probably of this date, and there exist traces of it, in some of the more ancient parts of the building.

"The choir, choir aisles as far as the tower, and probably the chapel called the Newton Chapel on the south side, were commenced by Abbot Knowle in 1306, and one style runs throughout them, though I should be inclined to assign a somewhat earlier date to the Newton Chapel, as well as to the chapel now used as a vestry, and which has been called the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin. And here we are arrested by some very peculiar features. The most striking of these is, that the choir and choir aisles are of the same height; and to carry out this arrangement, the following ingenious construction has been adopted:—A transom, as we must call it, has been thrown across the aisles from the outer walls to the capitals of the choir pillars. These are supported on arches springing from attached shafts on each side of the aisle, and in the spandrils formed by these are lesser arches, so that the transom is supported by the points of three arches. From the centre of the transom springs a vaulting shaft which carries the groining of the roof. A horizontal buttress is thus obtained, which receives the thrust of the groining of the choir, and carries it across the aisle to the external buttress. We cannot but perceive that the principles of carpentry are here employed, and it is an arrangement we should find in wooden construction, though we are surprised to see it carried out in stone.* It may be noticed that the archivolts of the choir spring from the ground, and run round the arches continuously without any capitals. We also observe a difference in the finishing of the groining in the choir. The central compartments in the first three bays towards the east end being plain, whilst those below them are foliated. Whether this indicates any earlier date for the eastern portion I am not prepared to say; but there is little doubt the builders of those days would have commenced at the east end, and worked westward. In this case, they may either have left

* Here Dr. Whewell interposed and said, that he thought no credit was due to the builders for this arrangement; but that having got into a difficulty, and finding that the choir pillars were giving way, they adopted this principle or carpentry to get out of it; and that they had carried it out in a bungling way, the rib of the arch being of a size much larger in proportion than the shafts from which they sprang. To this, however, it may be replied, that, in the first place, there is no symptom whatever of the pillars having given way, as they are truly perpendicular; and in the second, that there is no sign of any alteration in the design, from an examination of the masonry.

those parts nearest the high altar more plain to receive paintings; or they may have observed a baldness, about them, and improved their design as they advanced. But it has been suggested to me by a learned professor here, that the easternmost portion from the ends of the aisles may have been the Lady Chapel, a screen running across, or in a pentagonal form, from the pillars immediately below the east end of the aisles. This would have allowed of a processional passage at the back of the high altar, which we know always stood at the east end of the Presbytery. Before quitting the choir, I would direct attention to the great beauty of the foliage and carving in general, miserably as it is now defaced by yellow wash. It is also remarkable that the whole structure partakes very much more of the nature of what we may call German, than English Gothic of that period.

"In proceeding to the first chapel which has been called a Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, attached to the south aisle, we find a curious specimen of an ante-chamber. The peculiar stone roof, with its detached curved ribs, reminds us again of the principles of carpentry applied to stone. The carving throughout is strikingly bold, and the niches and recesses, for whatever purpose they may have been used, are very curious. Running round the label of the doorway entering the chapel there is an unique specimen of an "Ammonite" moulding. It was ingeniously suggested by the late dean that this might have been a chapel of St. Keyna—that saint having, by tradition, turned all the serpents which abounded in the neighbourhood of Bristol and Keynsham into stones. The chapel itself is evidently of earlier date than the choir, and at the south western corner is a part of the original Norman building. There is a peculiar foliage on one of the capitals looking like a poppy or water lily; and the soffits of the window arches are highly ornamented with a gigantic ball flower and other decorations. In the Norman part at the south western corner is a flight of stairs which evidently led to an upper chamber, and which indicates that this chapel (which, as may be seen from the altars and their accompaniments was divided into two), was a chantry chapel, and not one to the Blessed Virgin.

"The chapel, now called the Newton Chapel, from Judge Newton, who was living in 1447, having been buried there, seems also to have been built before the choir. And we must remember throughout, that as there was standing a sound Norman Cathedral, it was very easy to attach these chapels to it; and when that earlier fabric was altered, to adjust the new choir to the chapels and earlier parts of the decorated building.

"The date attributed to the tower is from 1423 to 1481; and there is pretty good evidence that the upper part of the south transept, built on the Norman foundation, was finished at the latter date. The south window is now under repair; and on removing the jaumbs, the arrangement of the old Norman lights was very visible. In the window itself

were two coats of painted glass in their original leading, though much mutilated.

"One of these coats contained the bearings of Edward the Confessor—azure, a cross fleurie or, between five martlets. The other, as far as can be discovered from the fragments is—quarterly azure and gules; first and fourth, three fleurs de lys; second and third, three lioncels. Now, we know that the fifth Henry reduced the number of fleurs de lys on his coat to three; and Edward IV. bore the same arms, surrounded by the garter, with a black bull and white lion for supporters. On the dexter side of the present coat is a white lion as supporter.

"The north transept, it is pretty clear, was finished in the time of Abbot Newland or Nailheart, *circa* 1491, as we find his device or rebus, a heart pierced with nails, as one of the bosses in the groining.

"There is a singular combination of styles in the north eastern angle of this transept, and it is not very easy to discover (especially through the coatings of wash and plaster) how they were adjusted to each other. The doorway also into the Lady Chapel, at this corner, is of disputed date, and I have not been able to arrive at any conclusion on the point from any documents which are accessible.

"The last architectural feature as to date, is the altar screen, the upper part of which was finished by Burton in 1533."

Mr. Carter then proceeded with his audience to visit the Cathedral, and to offer on the spot such illustrative observations as the detailed examination of the various parts of the fabric suggested.

On returning to the Chapter Room, Mr. Eccles Carter resumed his discourse, and adverted to the ruinous state of the present tower; and the question regarding the existence of a nave of the same date as the choir. Mr. Carter expressed his opinion, that the Norman nave was destroyed at the dissolution of monasteries, *temp.* Hen. VIII.

Mr. Pope offered some remarks upon the same subject, and gave an account of the foundations of the ancient nave, which he had himself brought to light, in the course of works carried on under his direction. He laid before the meeting a plan indicating those remains, consisting of the bases and plinths of piers, on the south side; and he described the discovery of some curious interments and vestiges of ancient date, on the removal of the old floor of the Chapter House.

Mr. Freeman wished to call the attention of the meeting to the arrangements of the choir, which were very singular, and seemed to have been materially affected by the destruction of the nave. Elsewhere, he need hardly observe, the choir screen was seldom, if ever, found placed further to the east than the eastern arch of the lantern, while it was very frequently found a considerable way down the constructive nave. In Bristol Cathedral, on the other hand, the screen was placed two bays to the east of the lantern, those two bays, with the lantern itself, being thus in-

geniously converted into a sort of small nave or ante-chapel. But besides this, the altar was placed at the extreme east end, which, though less singular than the other arrangement, was certainly not the usual practice in a church of this size. Again, the last pier in the choir arcades supports a much more prominent vaulting arch than any of the others, being more than a mere rib, and rather marking a division between two portions of the church; there is also a difference in the vaulting to the east, and to the west of this arch, the latter being the more elaborate. These circumstances might seem to point out this as the original position of the high altar, which would in fact be its usual position; leaving the projecting portion without aisles as an eastern chapel, and the intermediate bay, as what Professor Willis called a "procession-path." Now, the choir-screen might be dated within a very few years, as in its spandrils we find the initials "H.R." and "E. P." the latter with the ordinary badge of the Prince of Wales, which fixes it between 1537, the year of the birth, and 1547, that of the accession of Edward VI. It seems natural to conclude from these facts, that the date of the destruction of the nave was, as is generally believed, between the dissolution of the Abbey and its restoration as a Cathedral; and that, on the latter event, an entire change in the internal arrangements was rendered necessary. In order to procure something approaching to the character of a nave, everything was pushed eastwards; the roodscreen placed two bays east of its usual position, the eastern chapel thrown into the choir, and the high altar erected at the extreme east end of the church. The only difficulty, Mr. Freeman observed, was that at the point which other considerations pointed out as the boundary between the original choir and the eastern chapel, he had not been able to find against the pier any signs of the screen which would naturally be looked for. He would, therefore, not assert his theory too confidently, as it had been necessarily formed on a somewhat cursory examination of the church; but would rather throw it out for the consideration of those local antiquaries who had more opportunity than himself for an attentive examination of its minuter peculiarities.

Mr. Charles Wicks, of Leicester, read a Memoir "On Church Towers and Spires, more especially as illustrated by those in Somersetshire, the Towers of St. Mary Redcliffe, and St. Stephen's, Bristol, with other examples."

In the afternoon the members of the Institute were received by the President, at his seat, Blaize Castle, adjacent to the ancient fortification on the heights of Henbury.

In the evening a *conversazione* was given by the Bristol Society of Architects, at their apartments in the curious ancient mansion in Small-street, known as "Colson's House." The majority of the members of the Institute, still remaining in Bristol, were present. The most friendly and gratifying feeling had been evinced by that society towards the Institute on all occasions throughout the proceedings of the week.

Monday, August 4.—This day was devoted to an excursion to the Roman remains of *Isca Silurum*, the Institute having received a cordial invitation from the Caerleon Antiquarian Association, conveyed by their President, Sir DIGBY MACKWORTH, Bart., to attend their anniversary meeting at that place. A steamer conveyed the party to Chepstow, where they visited the castle and church, and proceeded by railway to Newport. Here they examined the curious church of St. Wollos, a structure presenting some remarkable peculiarities. The nave is of Norman date, with a fine western door; west of the nave, and uniting it to the perpendicular tower, is a portion of an ancient structure, by some regarded as more ancient than the nave itself. They then proceeded to Caerleon, and were welcomed by the members of the Monmouthshire Society, who conducted their visitors to the museum, recently completed, in which, through the praiseworthy and indefatigable exertions of Mr. Lee, a large assemblage of local antiquities had already been arranged. The Archæologists then visited the castle mound and remains of the Roman Villa, discovered in the grounds of Mr. Jenkins.* Of this building great part had unfortunately been removed by the proprietor, but numerous objects of interest were brought to light during the excavations. They were then invited by Mr. Lee to his residence at the Priory, replete with objects of antiquarian interest, and where some highly interesting remarks on Monmouthshire antiquities were offered by the Rev. J. M. Traherne. After examining the other objects of Archæological interest at Caerleon, the visitors were guided to the Roman Amphitheatre, commonly known as "Arthur's Round Table," in which hospitable entertainment had been provided by the members of the Caerleon Association. Sir Digby Mackworth took the chair, and the festivities of this gratifying reception passed in a manner highly agreeable to all who participated in them. Lord Talbot proposed the health of the President and Members of the Association, through whose kindness they had witnessed the interesting results of the Archæological movement in Monmouthshire. He commended warmly the benefits accruing from such local institutions, and the valuable efforts of an energetic and able antiquary, Mr. Lee, to whom antiquaries were chiefly indebted for the establishment of the museum they had visited, and the preservation of a great number of ancient vestiges, of great local interest, which must otherwise have been dispersed or destroyed. Sir Digby acknowledged the compliment, and proposed — Prosperity to the Institute, with the health of his noble and distinguished guests. Some of the members then visited Christ Church and other objects of architectural interest in the neighbourhood of Caerleon; and in the evening the party returned to Chepstow, and were safely landed at Bristol, after a day of very agreeable and social enjoyment.

* See Archæol. Journal, vol. vii. p. 97.

Tuesday, August 5.—A meeting was held at the Bristol Institution, Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in the chair.

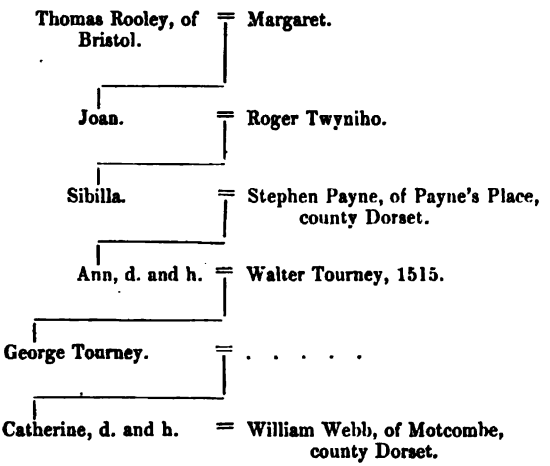
Mr. TYSON read a short Memoir on the ship called "The Nicholas of the Tower," mentioned by Hall and other chroniclers, in connection with the murder of the Duke of Suffolk, in 1450. (Printed in this Volume, page 35.)

Mr. JOSEPH BURTT communicated two Documents relating to the History of Bristol, from the Chapter-House, Westminster. (Printed *infra*, page 80.)

Captain CHAPMAN, R.E., offered some suggestions regarding the preparation of a map of British and Roman Remains in the district surrounding Bath and Bristol.

Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart., sent the following note, in reference to the "Rowley Controversy":—

"I think it has been affirmed that the tale regarding Thomas Rowley's poems, was entirely an invention of Chatterton. As to the poems, I will not pretend to answer for them; but that Thomas Rowley (or, as then written in the MS. I have seen, Rooley) lived at Bristol I can guarantee, and I give you the following pedigree of his descendants:—



From this William Webb, and Catherine his wife, descend the Bampfields of Hardington and the present Lord Poltimore."

Mr. JOHN G. CROKER communicated a notice, through Mr. Pitman Jones, of Exeter, regarding the recent discovery of two stone moulds for casting weapons of bronze, at a considerable depth, near Chudleigh, Devon. Drawings of these curious relics were also sent for examination.

Before the meeting closed, Mr. JAMES YATES desired to bring under the consideration of the society the deficiency of any public collection of casts from antique statues and sculptures of mediæval times, with

other objects, not less valuable as progressive examples of art than interesting to the Archæologist. He considered that the erection of the Crystal Palace, and the accumulation of large funds still unappropriated to any public purpose, presented a favourable occasion for supplying this defect. Collections of that nature, he observed, exist in most foreign capitals, where the advantage of such repositories, not only to artists and scholars, whose attention is given to the investigations of ancient remains, but to many classes of manufactures, had been fully recognised. Mr. Yates considered that this deficiency in our national institution, had arisen from the want of any building large enough to receive such a collection. He suggested, therefore, that a petition to Parliament, or memorial to the Commissioners of the Industrial Exhibition, should be addressed on behalf of the Institute, and he proposed several resolutions, embodying these considerations, and authorising the central committee to use their endeavours, in such manner as might seem hereafter most expedient, to give furtherance to so desirable an object.

Lord Talbot assented cordially to the suggestions made by Mr. Yates, and submitted to the meeting the proposed resolution, which was unanimously adopted. He recommended that the subject should be referred to the central committee, requesting them to prosecute this object as they might find favourable occasion arise, for the accomplishment of a purpose so desirable for public gratification and instruction.

The Architectural Section assembled in the Chapter House, and the chair was taken by Edward Freeman, Esq. Mr. George Pryce read a paper relating to the period of the erection of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, and the persons by whom the various parts were built. He read also a memoir on examples of the early use of the pointed arch, in buildings existing in Bristol.

The Rev. F. Warre called the attention of the meeting to the works at present in progress in Bridgewater Church, by which many of its ancient features were being destroyed under the pretence of "restoration." He particularly alluded to a remarkable "hagioscope,"* and stated that the Somersetshire Archæological Society had employed remonstrance in vain.

Mr. Freeman said that, having lately examined Bridgewater Church, he could fully confirm Mr. Warre's remarks as to the general character of the works carried on there. Being generally less disposed to pay attention to ecclesiological minutiæ than to strictly architectural matters, he had not himself minutely examined the "hagioscope" referred to by that gentleman; but he could testify to what seemed to him the gross absurdity of erecting a Decorated clerestory over Perpendicular arcades. The matter was the graver as the architect distinctly asserted his right to innovate upon old buildings at pleasure. He had no wish to say a single word personally disrespectful to the gentleman concerned, as, in

* Archæol. Journal, vol. iii. p. 307.

the conversation he had had with him, he had found him a courteous and agreeable person; but he felt it strongly to be his own duty and that of the Institute to protest, in every way open to them, against so monstrous a doctrine.

The concluding general meeting took place in the Guildhall at one o'clock. The chair was taken by the President, J. Scandrett Harford, Esq., who communicated letters which he had received from Lord Teignmouth, the Archdeacon of Bristol, Sir Thomas Acland, Bart., Col. Rawlinson, and other persons, whose presence had been anticipated during the week, expressing their regret at having been unable to take part in the proceedings.

The Annual Reports of the Committee and of the auditors were then submitted to the meeting, and unanimously adopted.

The following list of members of the Central Committee retiring in usual course, and of members of the Society nominated to fill the vacancies, was then proposed to the meeting, and adopted.

Members selected to retire:—The Earl of Enniskillen, *Vice-President;* Henry Hallam, Esq.; T. W. King, Esq., York Herald; H. B. Lane, Esq.; Rev. S. T. Rigaud; Edward Smirke, Esq.; and Sir Richard Westmacott. The following gentlemen were elected to supply the vacancies:—The Lord Talbot de Malahide, *Vice-President;* the Hon. W. Fox Strangways, M.A.; W. J. Bernhard Smith, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; Joseph Burtt, Esq., Record Office, Chapter House, Westminster; F. C. Penrose, Esq., M.A.; Samuel Peace Pratt, Esq., F.R.S.; and Anthony Salvin, Esq., F.S.A.

The following gentlemen were then unanimously elected as Auditors, for the year 1851:—Charles Desborough Bedford, Esq., Doctors' Commons; Edmund Oldfield, Esq., M.A., British Museum.

The occasion having now arrived to determine the place of meeting for the ensuing year,

The President stated, that the Institute had received several very cordial invitations from various parts of the kingdom, especially from Lichfield, from the Archæological Institute of Suffolk, and from Newcastle. The central committee wished to recommend to the Society the place last mentioned. It was accordingly proposed and resolved, that the meeting of the following year should take place at Newcastle. It was also proposed by Lord Talbot, seconded by Mr. Hawkins, and carried by acclamation, that his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, Patron of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and from whose kindness the Institute had on many occasions received the most gratifying encouragement, should be requested to honour the Society by officiating as president at their next meeting.

The customary expressions of thanks were then voted to those persons and public institutions, by whose friendly encouragement or co-operation the proceedings of the Society had been facilitated.

Lord TALBOT moved thanks to the Mayor and Corporation, by whose kindness the Guildhall and Council-house had been placed at the disposal of the Institute; and he alluded to the unusual demonstration at the commencement of the week, which had afforded so much gratification, in the display of the ancient Municipal treasures.

Mr. YATES proposed a vote of acknowledgment to the Bristol Philosophical Institution, and to Mr. Naish Sanders, for that cordial welcome so liberally shown in encouragement of the purpose which had brought the Institute to that ancient city.

Mr. FREEMAN moved a suitable acknowledgment to the Dean and Chapter, to the Bristol Academy of Fine Arts, the Bristol Society of Architects, and various local Institutions, by whose kindness the gratification of the Society had been enhanced.

Lord TALBOT proposed a resolution in cordial acknowledgment of the courtesies and hospitality shown by the Dean of Wells, Sir Digby Mackworth, and the members of the Caerleon Society, who had invited the Institute and given them so hearty a reception in Monmouthshire: he adverted also to the kindness of several gentlemen, especially Mr. Miles, of Leigh Court, and Mr. Howard, with others whose friendly consideration towards the Society claimed their very cordial thanks.

Similar votes of thanks were also moved, expressive of the feeling entertained by the Society for facilities liberally afforded in the arrangement of the museum at the Bishop's College; for the kindness also shown by the numerous contributors to that collection.

Thanks were proposed to the contributors of Memoirs, especially to the author of that delivered at the inaugural meeting, relating to the Municipal Antiquities of the city; and to the Local Committee, especially to the Town Clerk, Daniel Burges, Esq., and Mr. Tyson, whose unwearied and friendly exertions had so essentially promoted the success of the proceedings now brought to so satisfactory a termination.

These votes having been severally proposed from the chair, and cordially adopted, Lord TALBOT moved the hearty expression of the thanks of the Institute to the President, whose kindness and consideration on this occasion would long be remembered. The motion was seconded by Mr. HAWKINS, and carried by acclamation. After a short farewell address from Mr. HARFORD, the meeting dispersed.

The following Donations were received in aid of the expenses of the Bristol Meeting:—

J. S. Harford, Esq., *President*, 10*l.*; the Mayor of Bristol, 5*l.* 5*s.*; Sir John Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; William Salt, Esq., 5*l.*; R. P. King, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Frederic Ouvry, Esq., 5*l.*; A. H. Palmer, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. Symonds, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Rev. G. M. Traherne, 2*l.*; W. M. Gore Langton, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Robert Bright, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Albert Way, Esq., 2*l.*; Henry G. Tomkins, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*

CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES

Exhibited in the Temporary Museum formed during the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute, held at Bristol,

JULY, 1851.

ANTIQUITIES FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES, COMPRISING ANCIENT RELICS NOT CONNECTED WITH BRITAIN.

A COLLECTION of Abraxean gems, nineteen in number, formed by B. H. Bright, Esq., and accompanied by a descriptive Catalogue. Several specimens of ancient Indian pottery from Lima, Truxillo, and the Peruvian tombs;* a small grotesque vase of black stone, from Mexico; a very curious silver drinking-vessel, rudely representing a human face, from the ancient tombs near Lima; and a small hatchet of jade, from New York, similar in form to the stone celts of Europe; also various implements and objects of stone from Tahiti, New Zealand, and other countries, interesting for the purpose of comparison with ancient relics of stone found in Europe; a remarkable stone axe-head (locality not stated), in form closely resembling one found near Alexandria (figured, Archæol. Journal, viii. p. 421).—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

Five antique lamps of red ware, from Herculaneum and Constantinople.—*Mr. W. Tyson, F.S.A.*

Two lamps of red ware, one of them ornamented with three heads of fauns around the central opening. It was obtained at Rome, 1823, and stated to have been found near the Forum.—*Mr. J. M. Paget.*

A small figure, described as a Syrian idol, with an inscription in Greek characters around the head.—*Mr. Henry C. Harford.*

* A few specimens were kindly sent by the Institution, from the valuable collection of South American sepulchral vases in their museum, which are well deserving of careful attention.

Fragment of an Etruscan vase in the finished Greek style, found at Ruvo. A bronze celt, from Etruria.—*Mr. A. W. Franks.*

Bronze Etruscan mirrors.—*Lord Talbot de Malahide.*

Unguentaries of glass and fictile ware, found near Rome.—*Mr. F. K. Harford.*

Golden bulla, found in an alabaster urn near Rome; brought to England by Dr. Conyers Middleton, and purchased by Horace Walpole. Engraved by Ficoroni, La Bolla d'oro, Roma, 1732, and Dr. Middleton, Ant. Erud. Mon., p. 22. See also Mr. Yates' Memoirs, Archæol. Journ. vi. p. 113; viii. p. 166.—*Lady Fellows.*

Medallion portrait of a Roman youth wearing the *bulla;* executed by a remarkable process of ancient art, between two plates of glass. Purchased at the Strawberry Hill sale.—*The Rev. Dr. Bliss.*

Small Egyptian figure of earthenware, partly vitrified, and coated with green glaze; also a cast from the celebrated cameo, representing Jupiter Ægiochus, preserved in the Library of St. Mark, Venice, and the subject of a dissertation by Visconti. This cast was made by the Calmuc, Feodor. *Mr. James Yates.*

A Roman *as.*—*Mr. John Moore Paget.*

An Italian *as*, of Hadria, inscribed H A T, on the reverse; also three pieces, divisions of the *as;* Syracusan decadrachm, of silver; five intaglios, Assyrian gems; a fine cameo, the head of Silenus, on root of amethyst, mounted in gold; an Etruscan mirror, and three golden ornaments; also a bronze celt, probably from Italy, of uncommon form, and coated with fine smooth patina; compare one, figured in Cab. de Ste. Genevieve, p. 19.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

A curious selection of ancient objects, both of flint and of metal, found in Denmark and Norway, very interesting for comparison with analogous relics discovered in England. They comprised hatchets, a hammer-head, gouge, chisel, dagger and knives of silex. An iron sword, axe and spear, the *umbo* of a shield, a spur and three knives, all found in a Norwegian place of interment; a bronze tortoise-shaped brooch, from Norway, formed in two pieces (compare that found near Bedale, Archæol. Journal, v. p. 220); smaller relics of bronze, from Norwegian tumuli, and a little bronze cup of semi-globular form, with a small perforated handle, from the Eifel Mountain-range.—*Dr. Thurnam.*

Indian weapons, of stone, consisting of a hatchet, a spear-head, and arrow-heads, from North America.—*Mr. W. Cunnington.*

EARLY BRITISH AND IRISH ANTIQUITIES, ROMAN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN GREAT BRITAIN, ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES, &c.

Several remarkable objects of stone, from the Turbaries between Glastonbury and the sea;—flint spears; an implement of stone, measuring in its present state 10 in., one end being broken, the other sharply pointed: it has been supposed to have served as the point of a plough-share; also a broken celt, from Chilton-super-Polden. See Mr. Stradling's Memoir on the discoveries in these curious turbaries, Proceedings of Somerset Archæol. Soc., 1849-50, p. 48.—*Mr. W. Stradling.*

Two celts or axe-heads, of flint, one with square-cut edges at both ends; found at Bourne Mouth, Hants.—*The Rev. John Austen.*

Arrow-head, of black flint; found at the remarkable hill-fortress known as Lingfield Mark Camp, Surrey. (See Mr. Beale Poste's Memoir, Trans. of Archæol. Assoc. at Gloucester, p. 94).—*The Rev. C. Gaunt.*

A stone celt, found at Dunham, Norfolk, and a barbed javelin-head of white flint, from the same place, length 3 in.—*Mr. G. Carthew.*

Flint celts, from Suffolk. A very fine stone weapon of this class, found in 1846 at Shaw Hall, Flixton, near Manchester, measuring 13 in. in length, circumference 8 in., weight nearly 4 lbs.—*Mr. Brackstone.*

Celt of light brown chert (?); found 1789, in Glamorganshire, with another celt. Presented to the British Museum.—*Rev. J. M. Traherne.*

A collection of stone celts and arrow-heads, found in Ireland; also a remarkable blade or knife, of grey silex, found with moss, the *Hypnum brevirostre*, wrapped round its blunt extremity, to form apparently a substitute for a handle. It was found in the bed of the river Bann, at Toome Bridge, between the counties of Antrim and Derry. Other knives, without such handles, were found at the same time. Proceedings Roy. Irish Acad., 1851, vol. v., p. 176.—An oval stone, supposed to have been for use with the sling.—*Lord Talbot de Malahide.*

Various stone celts from the counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, Armagh, and Westmeath; two polished flint celts, of rare occurrence, and a flint knife, from county Antrim.—*Mr. Brackstone.*

Two small vessels of baked clay, not formed with the lathe, one being of semi-globular form, the surface set all over with irregular knobs, resembling in that respect those found by Sir Richard Colt Hoare at Upton Lovel and Amesbury; Anc. Wilts, vol. i. pl. xi. xxiv. It was discovered at Preday, on the Mendip Hills; diameter, about 3 in. The other was found in a tumulus at Walmead, near the Portway from Camerton, Somerset, and precisely resembles in form that found at

Fovant, Anc. Wilts, pl. xxxiii.; but the chevrony and punctured ornament is more elaborate. Its dimensions are: diameter, 4½ in.; base, 2½; height, 2 in. There are two holes at the side, about half an inch apart, possibly for suspension. From the collection of the late Rev. J. Skinner, of Camerton.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

A small earthen vessel, found 1849, in a tumulus at Bulford, Wilts; small bronze pins, and beads of a white coralline material, were found in it. (See woodcut, half the original size).—*Mr. Albert Way.*

Bronze spear-head, remarkable for its length (14 in.) and fine preservation. Three very curious objects of bronze, originally enamelled, supposed to have been attached to horse furniture; they were found in 1800, on Polden Hill, near Bridgwater, as related in Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 90. One of them is identical with the relic there represented, pl. xxii. fig. 1. Also a piece of metal, curiously ornamented in the same style, appended to a small chain; a massive bronze torc, one of a pair found in 1794 on the south side of the Quantock Hills; and a palstave, one being deposited within each torc, according to the account in Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 94. Weight of the torc, about 2 lbs.; diameter, nearly 9 in.—*Mr. Henry C. Harford, Frenchay.*

Bronze bridle-bit, originally ornamented with enamel fixed in cavities on the surface; part of the remarkable deposit found, in 1800, on Polden Hill, and very similar to the bridle-bit figured, Archæologia, vol. xiv. pl. xix. Twelve were found, and the greater part of these relics, formerly in the collection of Mr. Anstice, of Bridgwater, have been purchased by the trustees of the British Museum.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

Two bronze torques, and an armlet; found in Tadham Moor, just below a place called Heathhouse, in Wedmore parish, Somerset. The spot lies towards the village of Burtle; and these remains were found in digging turf for fuel, about 1845. The armlet is formed of thin wire, upon which are strung two beads of amber.. Also a third bronze torc, of larger size, stated to have been found in a turf moor, at or near Westhay, and adjacent to the parish of Meare, Somerset.—*Mrs. Phippen, Badgworth Court, Axbridge.*

A massive bronze collar; found about sixty yards from the Tower House, Wraxall, Somerset. It lay at a depth of about 18 in., close upon the rock; weight, 2 lb. 12¼ oz. The surface is curiously chased, and there appear to have been studs, or gems, set at intervals. This very curious ornament is of the same class as that found in Cornwall, Archæol. vol. xvi. pl. x., to which it is nearly similar in dimensions.—*Mr. C. Thornton Coathupe.*

Bronze socketed celt; found near Malton, Yorkshire—a specimen of interesting character.—*Mr. Brackstone.*

Bronze socketed celt, of peculiar fashion, found in the Thames near Wandsworth; length 4¾ in. The side loop is in a position hitherto

Bronze Celt, from the Thames.
Length, 4¾ inches.

Bronze Mace-Head, from Wiltshire.
Length, 3 inches.

without example amongst ancient relics of this class; also, a spiked mace-head, found in Wiltshire.—*The Archæological Institute.*

Bronze celt, found at Abury, Wilts; specimen of ancient cloth, found with an interment in a barrow in that county, and a facsimile model of

a necklace of amber beads, discovered in a like deposit.—*Mr. W. Cunnington.*

A massive metallic ring, much oxidated, diam. about ¼ in., resembling in form the gold penannular rings, regarded by Irish antiquaries as "ring-money." It was found by the late Mr. Hasell, in a tumulus called Dundon Beacon, near Somerton; and had been deposited in a rudely-fashioned urn, with a skeleton in a kneeling posture, placed in a rude cist. The urn contained a large number of these rings, supposed to be of tin, and to have been the currency of very early times. Also, a fragment of the urn thus discovered. Several bronze weapons found in Somerset, comprising celts and spear-heads from the Turbaries; a blade, in length 11¾ in., described as the "Gwaew-fon, or Fonwayw," from the Chilton Turbary (compare Skelton, Goodrich Court Armory, pl. 47, fig. 8); bronze rings; fibulæ from Knowl Hill and Moorlinch, and a singular bronze object, found at Chilton Bustle (described as a "Gwaell," or British brooch—see woodcut). Its length is 5 in. A bronze relic, analogous in fashion, was found with massive armillæ, &c., on the Sussex Downs*.—*Mr. Stradling, Roseville.*

A bronze *falx*, resembling those found in Ireland, and a bronze celt, ornamented with engraved lines. Both were found in Norfolk. Archæol. Journ. vol. viii. p. 191.—*Mr. Ploworight, Swaffham.*

A remarkable bronze blade, length 9¼ in., engraved with lines and vandyked ornaments: it was fastened to the haft by three massive rivets, still preserved. This fine weapon resembles those found in Wilts, Hoare, pl. 14, 15, described as spear-heads. Found in Yorkshire. —*Mr. A. W. Franks.*

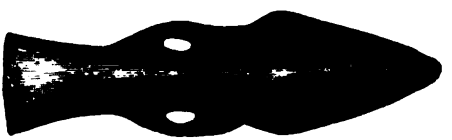
* Sussex Archæol. Coll. vol. ii. p. 265.

Irish antiquities of gold, comprising a gorget and two other relics, formerly in the collection of Dr. Adam Clark; an armilla, purchased from Mr. Cureton; two specimens of gold "ring-money," one of them of the curious type, with thin plates attached to the ends. Also, a bronze ring, one of a large deposit, amounting to a ton in weight, found in a tumulus: presented by the late Dean of St. Patrick's; a pair of iron *manillas*, of recent fabrication, for trade with Africa, interesting from the analogy of form with that of ancient penannular Irish ornaments.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

Coloured drawings, of the full size, representing the series of antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, at Dublin; fifty-two folio sheets.—*The Royal Irish Academy.*

A remarkable collection of Irish antiquities of bronze, comprising a series of celts, from various parts of Ireland, many of them curiously ornamented, especially one found in county Tyrone. Palstaves, and looped or socketed celts, from several localities in Ireland; bronze chisels from county Meath and Cork; spear-heads of various forms and dimensions: one of them, found at Roscrea, county Tipperary, has a portion of the wooden shaft still remaining in the socket; a fine bronze sword, found at Aughrim, 1850, and another from county Limerick; a perfect specimen of the scythe-shaped weapon, of bronze, of large dimensions, from the river Shannon, near Athlone; bronze daggers, and skeins, armlets, and a bronze bridle-bit.—*Mr. Brackstone.*

A bronze arrow-head, with socket to receive the shaft, and side loops: found near Clonmel, county Tipperary. See woodcut, original size. —*Mr. Albert Way.*



Series of bronze celts, from Ireland, and other localities; two celts, found near Rome; a bronze object of uncertain use, found in Ireland, supposed by some antiquaries to have served to support a plume on the head of a war-horse. See a representation of one, in Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. iv. pl. xv. p. 232.—*The Hon. Board of Ordnance.*

Two massive bronze armlets (?), the disunited ends somewhat dilated; diameter of the ring, about 3 in.; thickness of the metal bar, about ½ in.; weight of one of the rings, 12 oz. Found in a tumulus in the Scilly Islands, with an agate bead perfectly polished (exhibited with the rings), and a perforated stone disc, measuring about 2 in. diameter.—*Mr. Augustus Smith.*

Palstave, found at Queenstown, county Cork, and described as a Danish celt, a settlement of Danes having existed there. It has a remarkably deep stop-ridge.—*Mr. John Moore Paget.*

A massive armlet, of jet or cannel coal (?), flat on the inner side; found at Cirencester. One precisely similar in fashion was found at Lincoln, as communicated by Mr. Trollope.—*Professor Buckman.*

Irish antiquities of bronze, comprising a palstave of very rare form, having a loop at each side * (see woodcuts); an arrow head, several celts, bronze rings, weapons, and a penannular ring brooch. Length of the palstave, 6 inches.—*The Lord Talbot de Malahide.*

A fine agate ball, not perforated, perfectly polished, described as a "Glain Nadir, found in an Archdruid's tumulus in Cornwall." Presented by Sir James Hamlyn Williams to the late Charles J. Harford, Esq.—*Mr. Henry C. Harford, Frenchay.*

A bead of blue glass, spotted with opaque white, described as "an adder-stone ring, found in Cardiganshire."—*Miss Attwood.*

Eight beads of vitreous paste, two of opaque yellow colour, two melon-shaped; also four *calculi* of glass.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

* A palstave, almost precisely similar, dug up near South Petherton, is in the possession of Mr. H. Norris, of that place.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
P L

A BALL DISCOVERED IN A CINERARY URN, ON THE DOWNS
NEAR THE RACE-COURSE, BRIGHTON.
In the Possession of Gideon Algernon Mantell, L.L.D. F.R.S.

A BALL FOUND IN 1847 NEAR THE OLD MOAT OF THE RECTORY GARDEN,
SLYMBRIDGE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
In the Possession of the Rev^{d} R.M. White, D.D.

A remarkable ball, ornamented with stars, formed in clays (?) of various colours. Found in 1847, in cleansing the drain of the ancient moat, surrounding the rectory garden at Slymbridge, Gloucestershire, adjoining the churchyard. It lay embedded in gravel beneath the mud; the weight is 2 lb. 12½ oz.—*The Rev. R. M. White, D.D., Rector of Slymbridge.*

Another ball, closely resembling that found at Slymbridge.—See the accompanying plate. It was found in an urn, apparently of the usual coarse half-burnt British pottery, dug up on the Downs near the race-course at Brighton. The urn contained ashes. One side of this very curious ball being fractured, a stony nucleus is discernible, apparently a kind of chert (?), upon which the layers of coloured paste have been attached, and the surface rubbed down to a truly spherical figure.—*Dr. Mantell, LL.D.*

A stone altar, discovered in 1825, with pottery and ashes, &c., in a tumulus on Tidenham Chase, Gloucestershire, between the Severn and the Wye, near the course of Offa's Dyke, as noticed in Archæologia, vol. xxix. p. 14, and in this volume, p. 63. This altar, which apparently bore no inscription, was kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute by Dr. Ormerod, and has been presented to the British Museum, as a contribution from the society towards the "British Room."—*Dr. Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S.*

A bronze *lar*, of excellent workmanship, found in ploughing near Bath. It has been considered as a representation of Trajan, but it appears to be one of the genii, sometimes termed *camilli;* one hand upraised (the arm now lost) probably held a *rhyton*, and in the other was a *patera*. This figure wears laurel around the head, and a short tunic, similar to the *lares* represented in Montf., tom. 1, pl. 202; Rich, Companion to Latin Dict. p. 869. Also a bronze *lar*, found in Monmouth-street, Bath; a piece of bone, scored with the word APRILIS,

which occurs as the name of a Roman potter, on *mortaria* found in England. It was discovered near Somerton, in King's Sedgemoor.—*Mr. W. Stradling.*

Sculptured tablet, in low relief, found with Roman remains at Wellow, Somerset, and presented to the Institute by the Rev. Charles Paul,

vicar of that place. Represented in Archæol. Journ. vol. iv. p. 355. —*The Archæological Institute.*

Fourteen portions of the tesselated pavement discovered at Newton St. Loe, near Bath, during the construction of the railway.—*The Directors of the Great Western Railway.*

A collection of Romano-British relics, from the museum of the late Rev. John Skinner, and discovered in the neighbourhood of Camerton, near Bath; comprising fibulæ, tweezers, styli, finger rings, ornaments, of which some are enamelled; and various other objects of bronze and iron, pottery, &c., selected from the large assemblage of antiquities found at Camerton, bequeathed to the Bristol Institution by Mr. Skinner.*— *The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

Remains found at, or near, Bitton, Gloucestershire, tending to prove Roman occupation there. Portions of urns, from the churchyard and vicarage garden, the Manor Farm, from West Hanham, near the Castle, and from Granham Rocks, both in Bitton parish; fragment of Roman brick, found worked up in the wall of the church; portion of tesselated pavement, discovered in the churchyard; also, a quern, supposed to be Roman; the pair of stones were found together in a field near Derby Point, on S. side of Lansdown, and in Bitton parish. The lower stone convex, diameter 13½ in., thickness 3 in.; the upper stone fitting upon it, being a flat disc, about 3 in. thick. Fragments of Roman pottery have been found at the spot, which was possibly the site of a villa.—*The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.*

Roman pins and *volsellæ;* a key appended to a bronze armlet, and a fragment of a double-toothed comb of bronze, all found at Southampton. —*Rev. John Austen.*

Fragments of a bronze chain, or scourge (*plumbata*), and a bronze strigil; found at Sutton Courtney, Berks; Archæol. Journal, vol. viii., p. 191.—*Mr. Greville J. Chester.*

Mass of conglomerate, containing Roman coins, stated to be from the collection of the late Rev. J. Skinner.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

A collection of Roman coins, selected from a deposit consisting of nearly 900 pieces, found in an urn on Leigh Down, Somerset. It was remarkable that the urn contained nearly a complete series of the twelve Cæsars, with other coins generally of much later date. Also, a number of clay-moulds, for fabricating Roman coins, found near Taunton, similar

* In Gent. Mag. 1797, vol. i. p. 252, an abstract will be found of a memoir, by Mr. Skinner, who was rector of Camerton, on the claims of that place to be considered the Camalodunum of Dion and Tacitus, where a colony was established. He formed a large collection in that neighbourhood, including 1800 Roman coins, from Augustus to Honorius.

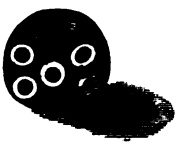
to those found at Edington, Somerset, in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, and other parts of England. See Camden's Brit. ed. Gough, vol. i. p. 71; Akerman's Roman Coins, vol. i. pl. 14; Durobrivæ, by E. T. Artis, &c.—*Mr. Henry Bush.*

Twenty clay-moulds for casting coins of the Emperors Severus, Caracalla, Geta, &c., found in the turbaries at Edington Bustle, near Bridgwater. See proceedings of Somerset Archæol. Soc., Taunton, 1851, Papers, p. 58.—*Mr. Stradling, Roseville, Bridgwater.*

Roman coins, a key, relics of iron and bronze, found at Kingston Deverill, Wilts, near the supposed site of a Roman station; amongst the coins, one of silver, LVCILLA AVGVSTA; rev. PVDICITIA.—*Rev. D. M. Clerk.*

A large assemblage of ornaments and relics of bronze, with other objects; fragments of "Samian" ware, and specimens of pottery; beads of glass and coloured vitreous paste*, found in the course of recent excavations at Cirencester. Many ornaments, discovered there, are represented and fully described in the "Remains of Roman Art" at *Corinium*, by Prof. Buckman and Mr. Newmarch.—*Professor Buckman.*

BRITISH.
Blue, white rings.



BRITISH.
Blue, opaque glass rings.

ROMAN.
Light green.

Two iron objects, supposed to be lamp holders, for suspending the lamps of earthen ware, of the Roman period. From the collections of the late Rev. J. Skinner, of Camerton. A good example is represented in "The Barrow Diggers," pl. 7, p. 87, found at Langton, but described as a spur. See also Schmidt's "Antiquités trouvées à Culm," pl. 5.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

A speculum of bronze, silvered; found at Colchester.—*Mr. James Yates.*

Representation of a remarkable specimen of Roman pottery, found, 1851, at Burgh Castle, *Garianonum*. It is in form like a flask, the mouth ornamented with a curious female head. Described and figured in Norfolk Archæology, vol. iii. p. 415.—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A bronze *lar*, and several small brass coins, part of a hoard of 300 or

* See Professor Buckman's memoir on the chemical composition of these beads, British and Roman, Archæological Journal, vol. viii. p. 351.

400 coins found on Charlton Downs, Wilts. They were deposited in a cist, formed with stones, near extensive traces of ancient buildings.—*Mr. Hayward, Devizes.*

Small bronze galeated head, found at Redhill, near Bowood, Wilts; probably the handle of a knife or other implement.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe, Clifton.*

A large collection of facsimiles (full size), representing the Inscription discovered at Caerleon, *Isca Silurum*, of which many are represented in Mr. Lee's "Delineations of Roman Antiquities at Caerleon," and the originals are preserved in the Museum there.—*Mr. John E. Lee.*

Silver facsimile model of a *cylix* of dark-coloured ware, found in a tumulus near Stonehenge.—*Mr. W. Cunnington.*

Cylix of dark-coloured ware, of the Caistor manufacture, ornamented with hunting subjects in relief. Found on Blackheath.—*Mr. T. Hart.*

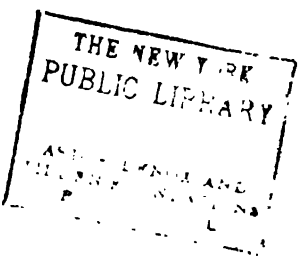
A singular relic of bronze, a representation of Minerva, in mezzo-rilievo, supposed to be of late Roman work: the head is covered by a helmet, on the breast is the Gorgon's head, in the left hand a spear and oval shield, the owl is seen beneath. Dimensions 5¼ in. by 2½ Found on Salisbury Plain, in an enclosed pasturage.—*Rev. Edward Wilton.*

Representation of a Mosaic pavement, discovered at Whatley, near Frome, Somerset.—*Mr. C. S. Clark.*

Rubbing from an inscribed stone found at Bath, and conveyed to Exeter by Dr. Musgrave, who fixed it in the wall of his house. It is now to be seen in the wall of "Musgrave's Alley."—*Mr. Pitman Jones.*

D. M.
CAMILLVS
SATVRNALIS CA
MILLE NATVLE PAT
RONE MERENTISSIME
·FECIT.

An iron pick-axe, blunt at one end, length 10 in., found with other relics in an ancient working at Luxborough, Somerset, opened in course of mining operations on the estate of Sir T. B. Lethbridge, Bart. The shaft was supposed to have been worked in Roman times, to which also these implements have conjecturally been assigned. Also an object of the form and size of a brick, supposed to be artificial fuel, some composition saturated with bituminous matter, and used in smelting ore.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Bronze Saxon Brooch, found near Warwick.

There is nothing, it must be observed, to prove the age of these curious relics; and the perfect preservation of certain wooden implements found in the same shaft, seems incompatible with the notion of their Roman origin.*—*The Somerset Archæological Society.*

ANGLO-SAXON, OR ANTE-NORMAN ANTIQUITIES.

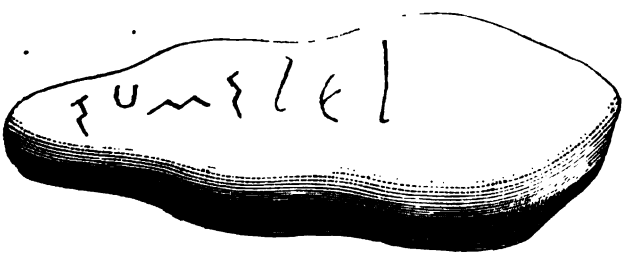
Iron umbo of a shield, and a large iron spear-head, probably of the Anglo-Saxon period, found on the Watling-street-road, in the parish of Churchover, Warwickshire, between Rugby and Lutterworth. They were presented by Mr. Grimes, in 1826. The discovery took place in 1823; several antiquities from that spot, in the possession of Mr. M. Bloxam, are described and figured in Mr. Roach Smith's Coll. Ant. vol. i. p. 36.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

Five flat ring-brooches of bronze, discovered in Lincolnshire.—*Rev. Edwin Jarvis.*

Circular brooch of gold, set with garnet-coloured glass, and five bosses, supposed to be of ivory. It was found on the breast of a skeleton, in Milton Field, near Abingdon, Berks, 1850. It is now in the British Museum, with an iron spear-head found at the same time. A representation of this brooch is given by Mr. Akerman, Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. 3.—*The President of Trinity College, Oxford.*

A fine cruciform bronze brooch, crystal bead, and other relics, found near Warwick (see woodcut).—*Rev. W. Staunton.*

A drawing, which represents an inscribed stone existing at Stowford, Devon. Length, about 5 ft. Supposed to be of the fifth century, according to Mr. Westwood, who proposes to read—GUMGLEL, or

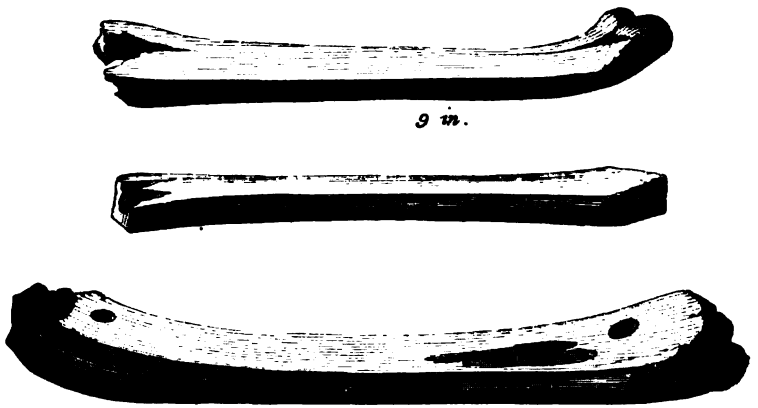


GUNGLEL, probably a personal name.—*His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.*

Bone skates, found in excavations at Lincoln, similar to those dis-

* These curious objects are preserved in the museum of the Somerset Society, at Taunton. The notice of the discovery has been kindly communicated by the Rev. F. Warre.

covered at Moorfields, London, and at York. They were formed of the leg bones of a horse, or other animal, shaved to a smooth surface beneath, and attached to the foot by a peg inserted at one end, and a thong through a perforation at the other. See Mr. Roach Smith's Coll. Antiqua, vol. i. p. 167.—*Mr. Trollope.*



13.

Bone Skates, from Lincoln.

A rudely-fashioned comb of bone, described as found with Roman remains, near Badbury Camp, Dorset, length 5½ in. Compare a similar comb, in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, found in Orkney; Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 424. Also, a good series of specimens of "Kimmeridge coal-money," and an amulet, found in Dorset.—*Rev. John Austen.*

MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES, SACRED ORNAMENTS, SPECIMENS OF GOLDSMITHS' WORK, AND PERSONAL ORNAMENTS, &c.

The crocketed head, pommel, and ferrule of a pastoral staff, of gilt brass, date about 1250. They were described as found about 80 years since, in a tomb at Hyde Abbey, Winchester. Probably the same of which mention is made by Dr. Milner, Hist. of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 238.—*Mr. G. Percy Elliott.*

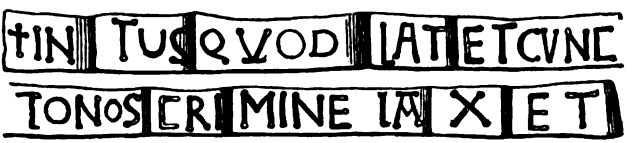
A small golden crown, set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, probably intended to adorn a small image of the Blessed Virgin. Found 1772, near the White Tower, London; figured, Archæologia, vol. v. p. 440.—*Lady Fellows.*

Portion of a beautiful ring-brooch of gold, set with precious stones. Found in Ireland.—*Lord Talbot de Malahide.*

Inscribed ring-brooch of silver-gilt, found 1838, at Llandough, near Cowbridge.—*Rev. J. M. Traherne.*

A small bronze female figure, possibly a saint, holding a book in her right hand, fifteenth century. Found at Llandoga, near Tintern, 1842. A small bronze figure, of uncertain date—a boy or genius seated on a globe, the arms broken. It may be of Roman work. (Engraved, Gent. Mag. vol. lxi. 1, p. 513.) A remarkable chasing in bronze, of large dimensions: subject, the "Ecce Homo;" it was found at Ragland Castle about 1800. An ancient money-coffer of iron, ornamented with pierced work, in the style of fifteenth century. A large plate of silvered metal, representing the entombment of Rhea Silvia, a work apparently of Italian art. Three Pilgrim's Shells (of the Red sea?) brought from the Holy Land, engraved with sacred subjects—the Annunciation, the Nativity, and St. Michael.—*Mr. J. Moore Paget, Cranmore Hall.*

A remarkable relic of bronze, found on the site of the house of Knights Templars, Sandford, near Oxford. It seems to have been the lid of a *pyx*, for the reservation of the Host, and represents the Saviour seated on the rainbow. Around is the legend—INTUS QVOD LATET



CVNCTO NOS CRIMINE LAXET. It has been assigned to the eleventh century.—*Mr. R. J. Spiers, Oxford.*

The moiety of a mould for casting small metal badges, or *signacula*, bearing representations of the Apostles Peter and Paul. It is formed of compact black stone, and was found, as stated, in the Christian Catacombs at Rome. The little rings at the four corners served probably to attach the badge to the sleeve or cap of a pilgrim.* The annexed woodcut represents a casting from this mould.—*Mr. F. K. Harford.*

Bronze candlestick, twelfth century.—*Mr. Franks.*

Bronze mortar, formed with strong ribs on the outside: it was found near Manorbeer Castle, Pembrokeshire. Bronze mortars, exactly similar, are stated to be found in the museum of the Duke di Riscari, at Catania.—*The Bristol Philos Institution.*

A bronze ewer, fifteenth century, found in Redcliff parish, Bristol.—*Mr. Edwin James.*

An ostrich-egg cup, the mounting of silver-gilt; long preserved by the Whitfeild family, whose arms, arg. a bend plain, between two cotises engrailed sa., are engraved under the foot. Mention is made of this cup in an old writing, cited by Hasted, Hist. of Kent, vol. iv. p. 427, as the property of John Whitfeild, of Canterbury, who died in 1691, and was descended from Sir Ralph Whitfeild, serjeant-at-law to Charles I.; also a diminutive "Bellarmine," mounted in silver, another family relic, sixteenth century.—*Mr. W. P. Elsted, Dovor.*

A silver chalice, found in Lincolnshire; and an ancient silver pair of snuffers, with the upright stand in which they were placed.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

A silver box, or pomander case, possibly for containing a pastille or preservative from infection, seventeenth century.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

A tankard of wood, curiously carved with subjects of Scripture history, and standing upon three lions Supposed to be of Norwegian workmanship. A description of this ancient drinking-vessel has been pri-

* See representations of several moulds of this kind, but of an earlier period, in Ficoroni, Piombi Antichi, p. 166.

vately printed, with plates by W. Hawkes Smith, 4to. 1821.—*Miss Smith.*

A silver mounted mazer bowl.—*Mr. W. Cunnington.*

Covered cup of crystal, mounted in silver-gilt, chased with considerable skill and elegance of design. The following account was given by Mr. Quicke:—"This cup came into my possession some years since, having been sold by auction at Hill Court, county Gloucester, the ancient seat of the Fust family. There are some curious circumstances connected with its discovery, as related to me by Dr. Colt, of Trawscoed, and the Rev. Mr. Colt, of Hill Church, county Gloucester. About twenty-five years since, in pulling down the wall of a room at Hill Court, closely adjoining the church of Hill, a large stone coffin was found, containing a skeleton entire, which quickly mouldered to dust on exposure. With the skeleton were found the cup, two enamels, and a silver paten." The church of Hill having belonged to St. Augustine's, Bristol, it had been supposed that these relics might have been brought from that Abbey for concealment, at the Dissolution, and that the crystal vessel had been a chalice. It has not, however, the character suitable to such sacred vessel, and the date of its workmanship appears to be later than the Reformation.—Also, a miniature portrait by Oliver, mounted in gold, enamelled; and a gold coronation medal of Queen Anne.—*Mr. Quicke, Bristol.*

A pair of salts, of agate, mounted in silver-gilt, beautifully chased; two cocoa-nuts, carved with subjects of scripture history, and mounted in silver-gilt. Date, early 17th century.—*Mr. J. C Lewis, St. Pierre.*

Pair of ancient candlesticks of silver, elaborately enriched with ornament, hammered up.—*Mr. Cookson, Clifton.*

A pair of jugs of mottled-brown stoneware, mounted in silver-gilt.—*Mr. Hilhouse.*

A set of silver Apostle spoons, and three old English tankards, two-handled.—*Mr. W. Tyson.*

Silver calendar-case, containing a calendar for 1682; an elegant little ivory casket, mounted with silver clamps, lock, &c., several medals and other objects of interest.—*Miss Attwood, Clifton.*

Silver-mounted cocoa-nut cup, bearing the ironical inscription, "Vernonis ut memorent Britones celebrare salutem, Hunc Anglis Cyathum Blassius ipse dedit. Carthagena. 1741." Don Blas de Leso was Admiral of the Spanish Squadron, when Vernon besieged Carthagena unsuccessfully. The inscription seems to be in derision of the British Admiral's vain attempt.—*Mr. J. M. Paget.*

A collection of ancient dials, consisting of the following specimens:—1. A boxwood *viatorium* or pocket horizontal sun-dial, 16th century. 2. A *viatorium*, or portable horizontal dial, in a case of gilt metal, engraved with arabesque decorations of flowers, 16th century. 3. Horizontal dial, made by Nicholas Rugendas, a clockmaker at Augsburg, 16th century. 4. Inclined, horizontal, and equinoctial dial, close of 16th century. 5. Inclined and equinoctial dial, 17th century. 6. Nocturnal or star-dial, and vertical sun-dial, early 17th century. 7. Ivory *viatorium*, and general dial, date 1609. 8. Another, of smaller size. 9. Silver pocket sun-dial, late 17th century, made at Paris. 10. Astronomical ring-dial, early 18th century.

Collection of fifty-seven ancient watches made in England, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, and thus arranged according to age and construction. I. Examples from the period of their invention, about 1500, to about 1540, being those made previous to the invention or general adoption of the fusee. This division exhibited three periods of progressive improvement. In the earliest the movements were entirely of steel; in the next the plates and pillars were of brass, the wheels and pinions of steel; in the latest, the plates and wheels were of brass, the pinions of steel, as at present. II. Watches from about 1540 to 1620, all having fusees. During that time watches were made of all imaginable sizes and shapes, and the cases were of all forms and materials; the examples exhibited were round, oval, octagonal, and cruciform; one in form of a shell, another, of a skull; one, in form of a golden egg or acorn, discharged a diminutive wheel-lock pistol at a certain hour. The cases of some were of crystal or bloodstone, and ornamented with enamel, chased and engraved designs, &c., on gold or silver. III. Watches from 1610 to 1675, the period when the pendulum spring was invented. These were all round, according to the fashion commencing about 1620, and which superseded the more ancient quaint forms. Amongst these were some curious astronomical watches, or perpetual moving calendars, showing, besides the time, the phases and age of the moon, the course of the sun through the signs, days of the month and week, &c. The cases were of silver, richly engraved, or of open work, some ornamented with subjects beautifully enamelled by Toutin, and other artists of his school; one example was embossed with flowers of enamel, and enriched with diamonds. IV. Watches made after the invention of the pendulum spring in 1675 to 1720. Some were in cases of gold or silver, richly embossed and chased; some enamelled; others supplied curious examples of the bulky form of watch made at that period.—*Mr. Octavius Morgan, M. P.*

A beautiful watch, of Spanish workmanship, set with turquoises.—*Mr. J. Hill.*

Watch of the times of Charles I.—*Mr. Rohde Hawkins.*

Mariner's compass, and a calendar, in a case of silver, richly gilt and engraved, inscribed,—James Kynvyn fecit, 1593.—*Dr. Dalton, Dunkirk House.*

A wooden *rappoir*, for grating snuff, thence at first called rappee. It is curiously carved, and bears the arms of the Commonwealth and initials of Richard Cromwell, 1660. This is one of the Cromwell relics preserved at Hursley Park, Hants.—*Sir William Heathcote, Bart.*

A black jack, silver mounted, a quart measure, formerly in the possession of the late Lord St. Vincent.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

A piece of very curious embroidery, date latter part of the 15th century, representing Moses and the burning bush. A christening mantle of blue silk, trimmed with silver lace, long preserved by the Whitfeilds, of Canterbury; and a cambric counterpane, wrought with yellow silk, by Anne, wife of John Whitfeild, who died in 1699. These interesting family relics are in most perfect preservation.—*Mr. W. P. Elsted, Dovor.*

The wedding gloves of a lady of Bristol, two generations ago; they are of thin Spanish leather, embroidered with silk, and fringed with silver.—*Mr. J. Naish Sanders.*

Embroidered glove, with a fringed cuff; worn by Governor Taunton, about 1662. He was the Governor of Portland Castle, Dorset. Presented by Mrs. M. Sabine.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

A small manual of the Ten Commandments, and Prayers, worked with the needle on linen, and bound in a curiously embroidered cover, on which, amongst various ornaments, is the posy,—"I am better within then with ovt."—*Mr. J. C. Lewis, St. Pierre.*

Oval tobacco-box of horn, stated to have belonged to Sir Francis Drake, but probably of a later date. On the lid are his arms, with a ship, bearing on the sail the date 1577, the year when he set forth on his voyage round the globe. At the bottom—*John Obrisset fecit.—Mr. G. Percy Elliott.*

A round wooden fruit-trencher, ornamented with flowers and inscriptions, 16th century. (Comp. Arch. Journ. vol. iii. p. 336.)—*Mr. H. C. Harford.*

A scent-bottle, ornamented with gold filagree, presented by Queen Anne to Alexander Pope, and afterwards in the possession of Bishop Warburton; it is now preserved by his representatives.—*Dr. Dalton, D.C.L., F.S.A.*

Inkstand, formed from the wood of Shakspere's mulberry tree, and formerly in the possession of Hannah More, at Barley Wood. It is thus inscribed—

> I kiss'd the shrine where Shakespears ashes lay,
> And bore this relic of the bard away.—H. M. 1796.

The Bristol Philosophical Institution.

MEDALS AND COINS.

Silver medal of Charles II., by Rotier; Felicitas Britanniæ, 29 Maii, 1660. Sold for 28*l.* at Sir F. Eden's sale. Silver medal of Frederick, King of Sweden, by the celebrated artist, Hedlinger.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

Coronation medal, of silver, William and Mary.—*Mr. Thwaites.*

Coronation medal, of gold, Queen Anne.—*Mr. Quicke.*

Three Italian bronze medals, two being of Cardinal Gonsalvi, struck in 1824, one by Girometti, the other by Cerrara; also Pius IX. in the first year of his pontificate, by Giust. Cerrara.—*Mr. Harford, Blaise Castle.*

Medals of Pope Innocent XI., Louis XV., and of the Pretender.—*Mr. G. Percy Elliott.*

A silver shekel, on one side the Pot of Manna, on the other Aaron's rod. See Bayer de Nummis Hebr. p. 171.—*Mr Alderman Pountney.*

ENAMELS, CARVINGS IN IVORY, &c.

Enamelled plate, 12th century, representing the children of Israel marking the doors of their houses with the blood of the paschal lamb; the token being here represented in form of the Tau, (T.) An interesting medallion of Limoges work, with a portrait on each side, that on the reverse representing Francois I. It bears the initials L. L. (Leonard Limousin), 1539.—*Mr. Augustus W. Franks.*

Two plates of copper, originally enamelled; one, found at Whissonsett, Norfolk, represents the Saviour enthroned; the other, of quatrefoiled form, portrays an angel; it was found at Elmham.—*Mr. G. Carthew.*

Enamelled pyx, of the work of Limoges, with conical-shaped lid, 13th century.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

A circular ornament of gilt copper, enamelled, of beautiful design, being a scutcheon of the arms of La Rivière (?). Az. crusuly, two fish adossés. The shield is surrounded by open work, in which two wyverns are introduced in foliage. Diameter, 4¼ in. It was found at a ruined chapel at Highbridge, Somerset. Date, 14th century.—*Mr. Stradling, Roseville.*

A pewter charger, or round dish, having on the central boss an enamelled roundel of the arms of James I., and doubtless of his times.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

Ivory casket, beautifully sculptured with subjects from ancient tales of Romance. Date, early 14th century.—*Mr. Charles Warde, Westerham.*

Ivory chess-knight, an interesting example of costume, *t.* Edward III. Both the warrior and the charger are covered with mail. Figured, Archæological Journal, iii. p. 244.—*Rev. John Eagles, Clifton.*

Two ivory tablets, 12th century; the subjects are: the Last Supper, and the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane.—Byzantine sculptured tablet of ivory, 12th century.—Portion of a groupe, the Betrayal of our Lord, 15th century.—*Mr. M. Rohde Hawkins.*

Sculptured ivory, part of a diptych or cover of a book; subject, the Adoration of the Magi; found at Broadoak, Cornwall, in pulling down the vicarage house.—*Mr. H. S. Washrough.*

A remarkable massive horn, formed of the tusk of the elephant; it is octagonal, and ornamented with small subjects in low relief, a man mounted on horseback, and blowing a horn, a peacock, griffin, &c., and a cross patée. It was shown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1808 by the Rev. Dr. Cooke, Rector of Tortworth, with the mirror-case (next described). Archæologia, vol. xvi. p. 346. This curious horn bears some resemblance in character to that of Ulphus, at York Minster. —*Mr. Henry Bush, Clifton.*

A beautiful mirror-case of ivory, date about 1300; the sculpture representing the assault of the Castle of Love. In 1808 it was brought to the Society of Antiquaries by S. Lysons, director, and a representation is given, Archæologia, vol. xvi. pl. 49. It was then in the possession of Richard Haynes, Esq., of Wick.—*Mr. Loscombe.*

ARMOUR AND ARMS, &C.

An iron gauntlet, date about 1400, recently purchased for the Tower Armory, a very rare and interesting example. The nails of the fingers are marked on the metal, as shown on the effigy of Sir Bernard Brocas, 1399, Westminster Abbey. Also a massive battle-axe head of steel, the blade singularly fashioned with pierced work, representing a lion rampant.—*The Hon. Board of Ordnance.*

A fine sword, with a Toledo blade, inscribed,—TOMAS VINLA EN TOLEDO. The mounting of silver, elaborately chased. A habergeon of chain mail, a cross-bow, the stock ornamented with ivory, and a head-piece, found at Midsomer Norton, Somerset.—*Mr. J. Moore Paget, Cranmore Hall.*

A coutel-hache, or coutelas, found as stated, in the North of France, about 1760, and supposed from the inscription, EDWARDVS PRINS ANGLIE, repeated on each side of the blade, to have belonged to Edward I. or the Black Prince. It bears resemblance to a weapon in the Goodrich Court Armory, of the early part of the sixteenth century, and this coutelas may have been made for Edward VI. Another, with EDWARDVS and a rude representation of a lion (?) on one side of

the blade, with PRINS ANGLIE on the other side, was formerly at Armethwayt Castle, Cumberland.—*Mr. Frederick Harford.*

Two-handed state sword; a German basket-hilted sword; a sword with the Stuart hilt, the blade inscribed ANDREA FERARA; a Highland dirk, and a dagger, having a singular transverse perforation near the point; two curious guns, one of them the *Trabuco* of the Spanish *contrabandista;* wheel-lock pistol, sixteenth century; several spurs; an iron thumb-screw, and an Indian dagger, furnished with steel claws, like the paw of a tiger.—*Mr. J. Hill.*

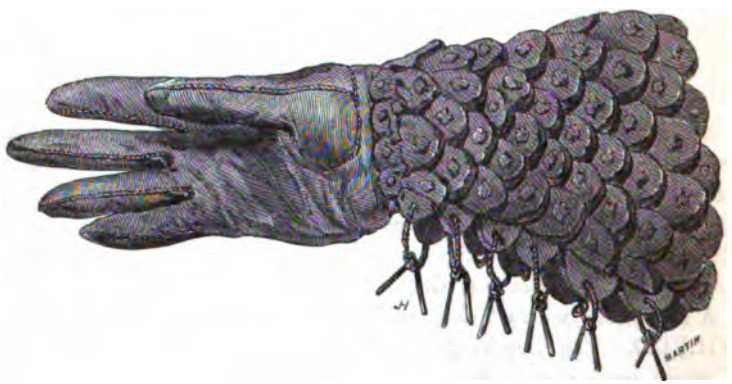
Fragment of chain-mail, found at St. Stephen's, Bristol.—*Mr. R. S. Pope.*

A fragment of brass chain-mail, from Wood-street, London; barbed arrow-heads and a quarrel-head of iron, with several other medieval objects of the same metal.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

A wheel-lock pistol, of remarkably fine workmanship.—*Mr. Henry C. Harford.*

A pair of Highland fire-lock tacks, which belonged to John, the great Duke of Argyll, who died 1743. (Described, Archæol. Journal, vol. viii. p. 198.)—*Sir John Boileau, Bart.*

A singular glove of buff-leather, formed in scales, from the Bryn-y-Pys collection. Described, Archæol. Journal, vol. viii. p. 300.—*Mr. Hewitt.*



Head of a halbert, found in a deep ditch, called in Somerset "a rhine," near Borough Mount, where Goring's men were routed in the civil wars. It is marked W. P. 1625. Also, a gisarme, or variety of the forest-bill, found in Somerset. Compare Skelton's Goodrich Court Armory, vol. ii. pl. 85.—*Mr. Stradling.*

An iron axe-head, found in the bed of the Shannon at Athlone (compare one found near Ashdown Park, Berks, figured, Archæol. Journal, vii. p. 392); and a pair of brass stirrups, from the battle-field of the

Boyne, 1690, remarkable as combining a substitute for the ordinary spur. Each stirrup has on one side a projecting piece, which carries a small rowel of ten points, fixed to revolve horizontally, the whole projecting only 1 in. from the side of the stirrup.—*Mr. Brackstone.*

The sword of Nathaniel Wade, town clerk of Bristol, and major of the Train Bands, of that city, in 1688.—*Mr. D. Burges, Town Clerk of Bristol.*

A spur, unique probably in the elaborate character of the pierced work and chasing with which every part is enriched, and specially interesting as a relic of the memorable fight on Lansdown, near Bath, July 5, 1643, in which Sir Bevil Grenville fell; found on the field of that engagement.—*Mr. Cookson, Clifton.*

Unique iron Spur, of the times of the Civil Wars.
In the possession of Joseph Cookson, Esq.

The head of an halbard inlaid with gold.—*Mr. J. H. Le Keux.*

A hawk-lure, pouch, and hawking glove.—*Mr. Evelyn Shirley.*

A rapier, mounted with most elaborate chasings, &c.—A singular *stiletto*, presented to the late Dr. Nott, by the Princess Eliza, sister of Napoleon, as the weapon with which her *camerilla* had killed her *courier.* —*Mr. C. W. Loscombe, Clifton.*

A German brittling-axe, an implement of the chase, used for cutting up the deer. It is curiously engraved; on one side is seen the stag at bay, on the other a gentleman and lady conversing, and the date 1575. —*Mr. W. J. Bernard Smith.*

An iron mace; a "curtal-axe," ornamented with inlaid work, supposed

to be Milanese; an ancient spur, found on the field of the skirmish at Hampton-road, related by Clarendon, but apparently of earlier date. A fine pair of silver spurs and a massive bridle-bit, preserved at Boxwell Court, as having been used by Matthew Huntley, captain in Prince Rupert's cavalry; a pair of goad-spurs, from the same place; a pair of short-necked hunting spurs, of the time of Queen Anne, and a pair of gauntlets.—*Dr. Dalton, D.C.L., F.S.A., Dunkirk House.*

A collection of ancient keys, of brass and iron, chiefly found in Bristol, of various periods.—*Mr. W. Tyson.*

Another collection of keys, showing the advance of the locksmith's skill; also two ancient iron locks, and two globular padlocks of the same metal.—*Mr. Jere Hill.*

Ancient lock and key, from the Bishop's Palace, Bristol.—*Mr. C. S. Clark.*

WORKS OF ART, DRAWINGS, CASTS, &c.

Diptych with portraits of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, 1419, and Isabella, daughter of John I., King of Portugal; a choice specimen of early art, attributed to Van Eyck. Portrait painted in enamel, by Zincke; miniature portraits of Ben Jonson, of Richard Cromwell, and of Charles II. when young, by Cooper. Miniature in oil, a portrait of Guido, by Annibal Caracci; a drawing by Rubens, in red crayons, the subject Quintus Curtius; and a box, decorated with an exquisite painting of flowers, by Spaendonck.—*Mr. C. W. Loscombe, Clifton.*

Miniature portrait of James I., by Isaac Oliver, and an impression of the copy of Rembrandt's etching of the Burgomaster Six, marked B. in the lower right-hand corner.—*Miss Smith, Clifton.*

Miniature portrait, by Isaac Oliver, of Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, 1621; purchased at Mr. Harmar's sale.—*The Rev. Dr. Bliss.*

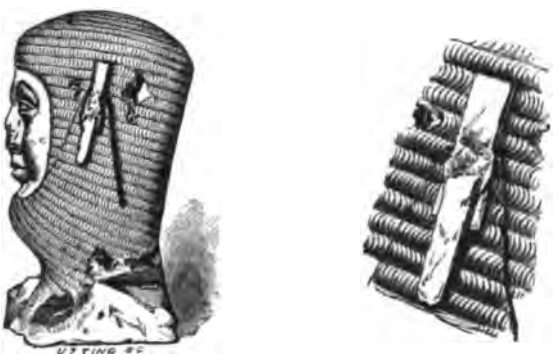
Ancient picture, representing the High-street, Bristol, with the High Cross, Christ Church, now demolished, and the clock with the "quarter-boys," now in the possession of G. W. Braikenridge, Esq.; also the Council House, as standing prior to 1704: a noted mendicant of the period, supposed to be about 1690, is seen in the foreground.—*Mr. John Evans Lunel.*

Drawings, representing sepulchral memorials and architectural details, chiefly from Bitton, Gloucestershire. They comprised, the slab, with a female head over a cross flory, the memorial of Emmote de Hastinges: it was found by the side of that of Robert de Bitton, in Bitton Church, a remarkable effigy partly in relief, partly incised. (Archæol. xxxi. p. 267.) Fragments of an earlier slab, found worked up in the masonry of Bishop Bitton's chantry, founded 1299. Fragment of an episcopal effigy, found

at Bitton. Carving over the centre of the chancel arch, Bitton, concealed by the modern ceiling: it probably represented our Lord treading on the serpent. The head and arm of a colossal rood were also found. Part of north doorway, Bitton, ornamented with a curious fret on the arch mouldings; a similar design may be seen at Broadwater and Jedburgh. Norman piscina in the chapel of Hanham Abbots, parish of Bitton. Window of the *Manerium*, near Bitton Church. The Virgin and Child, discovered in Langridge Church, near Bath, 1827. Effigy of a lady, date *circa* 1300, found in Langridge Church. Monuments of Judge Cradock, *alias* Newton, and of Sir John Newton, his son, in Yatton Church.—*Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.*

A valuable collection of drawings, illustrative of the architectural antiquities of Bristol and the western counties. The Pocket Book and Diary of Stukeley, 1746, in which are entered numerous particulars of curious interest to the antiquary. A volume of MS. letters by R. Gale, Drake, the historian of York, Douglas, Bishop Gibson, and other antiquaries.—*Mr. Britton.*

A drawing representing a curious fragment of a sepulchral effigy, found in 1826, near the site of the Dominican convent, Exeter, where many persons of noted families in Devon were interred. It is in the possession of Mr. Gidley, town clerk. (Archæol. Journ. ix. p. 187. See woodcut.)—*Mr. Pitman Jones, Exeter.*



Facsimile, on a reduced scale, of an inscription on the west front of the tower of Backwell Church, Somerset. The letters are raised, —Ih'c. sped' I. Coly'. (? Jesus spede John Colyn.)—*Mr. James Garland, Backwell.*

A volume, containing numerous unpublished drawings of ancient seals, by Vertue, intended as a supplement to the series of seals engraved in the Vetusta Monumenta, by the Society of Antiquaries. It was formerly in Mr. Hamper's library, and subsequently in Mr. Pigott's.—*Mr. J. G. Nichols.*

Drawings, representing the cross-legged wooden effigy of Sir John Hautville, at Chew Magna, Somerset, said to be of Irish oak: the attitude is singular; he raises his head on his right hand, resting the elbow on the ground. Sculpture on a stone pulpit at Newton Nottidge, Glamorganshire, representing the Flagellation of our Lord: fifteenth century.—*Mr. H. S. Wasbrough.*

Collection of drawings, illustrative of ancient architecture, ecclesiastical and domestic, from examples chiefly in Somersetshire.—*Mr. Stockdale.*

Two large drawings, representing Salisbury Cathedral, one taken from the Palace Garden, the other from the Cloisters.—*Mr. Owen Carter.*

Drawings, representing painted glass in Martham Church, Norfolk, date about 1450, and figures originally there, but removed to the windows of Mulbarton Church. Mural paintings, found 1851, at Wickhampton Church, St. Christopher, over the north door, and a consecration cross, one of three then discovered, about fifteen feet apart; also a mural painting on the north wall of the nave, representing "les trois vifs et les trois morts;" date early fifteenth century. Mural painting at Hardwick Church, representing St. Christopher.—*Mr. Dawson Turner.*

Model of the proposed restoration of Bristol High Cross, to be erected at the eastern end of College Green. Drawings, plans, and sections of the Norman Gateway, College Green.—*Mr. John Norton.*

Drawings of the choir, Bristol Cathedral; view from the south transept; the Berkeley tomb, in the Lady Chapel; east end of the Mayor's Chapel; a view of Fairford Church, and seven drawings of sepulchral effigies in the cathedral and churches of Bristol.—*Mr. G. Pryce, Bristol.*

Plan, section, and elevation of the great "Abbots' Barn," at Peterborough.—*Mr. C. Hanson, Bristol.*

Collection of drawings, chiefly illustrative of architectural subjects in Bristol and the neighbourhood.—*Mr. G. Tovey, Bristol.*

Seven casts from carved panels in the museum of the Somerset Archæological Society, found near Yeovil, and supposed to have been removed from the demolished chapel of Pitney; date, early sixteenth century.—*The Somerset Archæological Society.*

Cast from corbels supporting the roof of the cloisters, Bristol Cathedral, and from other details of architectural ornament; fragments of Norman sculpture; specimens of carved oak; a curious leaden head of a water-pipe, from an ancient structure in Bristol, and an iron "Lewis," used in supporting an architrave of stone over two columns in an old building in that city.—*Mr. R. S. Pope.*

Fragments of tabernacle work, of alabaster, probably portion of a shrine, or altar decorations, found in the wall of a cottage near Bitton

Church, Gloucestershire. Four casts from sculptured corbels in the church of Great Sherston, Wilts; two supposed to pourtray Edward I. and Queen Eleanor.—*The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.*

SEPULCHRAL BRASSES, INSCRIPTIONS, &c.

Collection of rubbings from sepulchral brasses, existing in churches in Bristol and the counties of Gloucester and Somerset. They comprised—From St. Mary Redcliffe: Sir John Ivyn, Judge of the King's Bench, Recorder of Bristol, 1439; square plate, a man in armour and his two wives, said to be Philip Mede; John Jay, sheriff of Bristol, and his wife; John Brook, Serjeant-at-Law, 1522. St. John's Church: Thomas Rouley, sheriff of Bristol, and his wife, 1478. Temple Church: half figure of a civilian, about 1400; a priest in a cope, about 1480; a "palimpsest," on the reverse is part of an older effigy of a lady. St. Peter's: figure of a priest, Robert Loud, 1461. Trinity Almshouses, in the chapel: John Barstaple the founder, and Isabella his wife: he died 1411. From Gloucestershire—Dyrham: Morys Russell, 1401, and his wife, large and fine effigies: he is in armour (Boutell's Monum. Brasses). Minchin Hampton: John Hampton, 1556, and Elyn his wife; Edward Halyday, 1519, and Margery his wife; a man and his wife, early sixteenth century. Winterbourne: a lady, date about 1380; close-fitting dress. Wootton-under-Edge: Sir Thomas de Berkeley, 1477, and Margaret, 1392. These fine figures are on an altar-tomb in north aisle, and are figured in Hollis' Monum. Effigies. The knight has a collar of mermaids. Yate: quadrangular plate, with representations of Alexander Staple, 1590, and his two wives. From Somersetshire—Axbridge: Roger Harper, merchant, 1493, and Joan. Banwell: a man and his wife, date about 1480; John Blandon, 1554, and his wife: her figure lost; Cheddar, fine effigy, about 1440, attributed to Sir Thomas de Cheddar, Isabella his wife, in widow's dress. Churchill: Ralph Jenyns, 1572, in armour, and Jane. Hulton: two brasses of the Payne family. Swainswick: Edmund Ford, 1489. Also, drawings representing a curious coffin-lid, found in St. Philip's Church, Bristol (see p. 182 in this volume), and monuments in St. Mary Redcliffe Church.—*Mr. J. A. Clark, Bristol.*

Rubbings from sepulchral brasses, in Somersetshire.—Combe Flory: Nicholas Fraunceis, 1526, in armour. Fivehead: a lady in rich costume, date about 1550. Hulton:—Payne, date about 1490, in armour; he wears a collar, with a portcullis appended; Thomas Payne, 1528, and Elizabeth; figures kneeling at desks. Ilminster: William Wadham, date about 1425, and his mother: he is in armour; Nicholas Wadham, 1609, and Dorothy his wife, founders of Wadham College. Langridge:

Elizabeth, wife of Robert Wallche, Esq., 1441, in widow's dress. South Petherton: figures of a knight, about 1415, in armour of plate, and his wife; his helm, placed under his head, bears as a crest a bunch of flowers within a jewelled coronet. These fine memorials have been attributed to the Daubeney family.* Anna, wife of Sir Giles Daubeney, and daughter of Simon Leek, of county Notts, 1442; horned head-dress. Impressions of brasses from Bristol, Axbridge, and Cheddar, already described. Rubbing from a curious plate, a memorial of the Powder Plot, 21 in. by 15½ in., preserved in the mansion of Admiral Sir Chetham Mallett, at Shepton Mallett—"To GOD, in memory of his great deliueraunce from y^e^ unmatcheable powder Treason, 1605." It represents the pope and cardinals in council, the parliament house, and the vault filled with combustibles, towards which Guy is seen approaching: under his feet is the word FAVX, under his lantern, FAX. Below are the verses, Psalm cii. v. 18; lxxviii. v. 7, and a scutcheon of these arms, —Erm. a canton charged with a crescent, doubtless those of the zealous Protestant who caused this singular plate to be engraved, "in perpetuam Papistarum infamiam."—*The Somersetshire Archæological Society.*

Rubbing from an interesting inscribed slab, at Combe Flory, Somerset, early thirteenth century. The memorial of the spot where was deposited the heart of Maud de Merriete, a nun of Canyngton, in the same county—+ LE : CVER : DAME : MAVD DE : MERRIETE : NONAYNE : DE : CANNYNTUNE. Rubbing from a mural brass at Bishop's Lydeard, Somerset, representing Nicholas Grobham, 1585, and Eleanore his wife, kneeling at desks.—*The Rev. F. Warre.*

Rubbing from an inscribed slab, with a cross-flory, thirteenth century, dug up during repairs of the church at Merthyr Mawr, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire: + WLADYS : LA : FILE : DANIEL : SIWAR : GIT : ICI : DEV : LA : FACE : MERCI : AM'. Wladys was probably descended from Sir Richard Siward, who accompanied Fitzhamon in his conquest of Glamorganshire, 1090. Sepulchral brass, at Llandough, near Cowbridge, in same county—a lady in a flat cushioned head-dress, Wenllān Walsche, formerly wife of Walter Morton: she died 1407.—*Rev. J. M. Traherne.*

Fragment of a sepulchral brass, part of an emaciated figure extended on a mat; it had been converted into a sun-dial, the lines of which are engraved on the reverse of the original work.—*Mr. W. Tyson.*

"Palimpsest" brass escutcheon, from the tomb of John Mauntell, date about 1446, at Nether Heyford, Northamptonshire. It displayed the bearing of Heyford—a maunch; and, when detached from the monumental slab, the reverse proved to be engraved with these arms:

* Called the "Earl and Countess of Bridgwater," in the List of Monum. Brasses.

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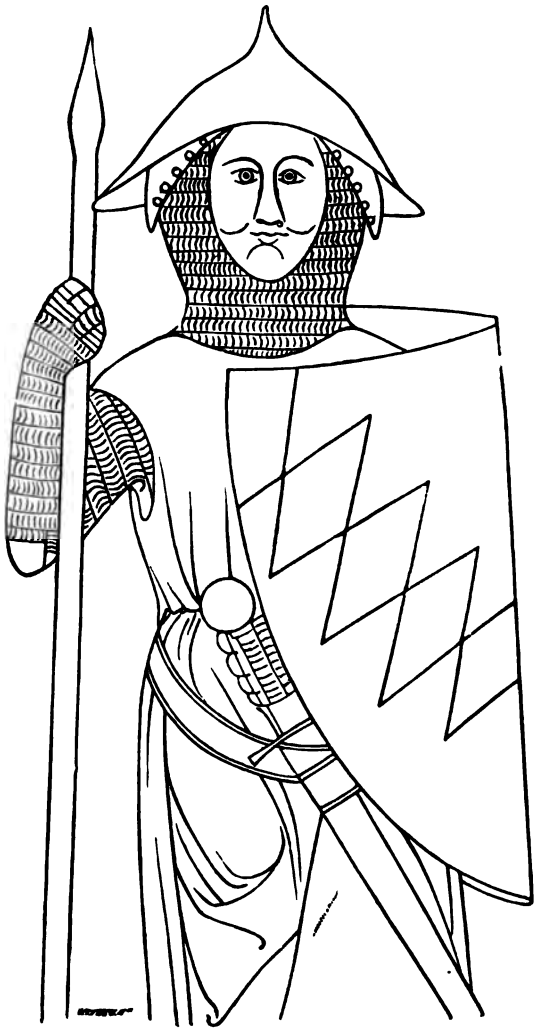

Incised Sepulchral Slab in the Chancel of Ashington Church, Somerset.
Date, about 1300.

three fusils in fess, quartering six lioncels, supposed to be those of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.—*Dr. Mantell.*

Rubbing from the curious effigy of a bishop, engraved on a grave-slab in Wells Cathedral, supposed to be the memorial of Bishop William de Bitton, who died 1274.—*Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.*

Rubbing from an incised slab in Ashington Church, Somerset, a very curious example of costume; date, about 1300. (See woodcut.)—*Rev. R. F. Meredith.*

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS, SIGNET RINGS, &c.

Impressions from several matrices in the collection of Mr. Stradling, comprising the town seal of Stoke Courcy, now called Stogursey, Somerset, found at that place. The device is a castle with a pointed arched gate: + SIGILL' . COMMVNE . BVRGENSIVM . DE . STOKES . CVRCI. Of circular form, diam. about 2 in. A pointed oval seal, of ivory, found at Chedsey, near Bradney, Somerset, where there is a farm once belonging to the knights templars, called the Temple Farm; device, the Holy Lamb: * S' . FRIS RICARDI . DE . BRADENIE .: fourteenth century. Pointed oval seal, the Pelican in piety, found near Bath: + SIMIL' FACT' SVM PEILCON (?), fourteenth century. A seal of Henry VIII., stated to have been found in a sewer at Bristol, near the site of the Castle, after the riots in 1831. Seal of Gilbert Berkeley, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1559, deprived in the reign of Elizabeth; he died 1581. The principal device is a very grotesque figure of St. Andrew under a kind of canopy. Beneath is an escutcheon of the arms of Berkeley, with a rose upon the chevron, for difference: SIGILLVM . GILLBERTI . BARCKLEY . BATHON . ET . WELLEN . EPI . AD . CAVSAS. Sold at Bridgwater amongst old metal.—*Mr. Stradling.*

Seal of Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. It bears an escutcheon of the arms of Ferrara: a representation is given, Gent. Mag. vol. lx. 1, p. 218. It is supposed to have been the seal of Alfonso, son of Hercules d'Est: he succeeded in 1505.—*Mr. J. Moore Paget.*

Gold signet ring, found at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, in a grave. It bears a merchants' mark.—*Rev. J. M. Traherne.*

Silver matrix, purchased at Watlington, Oxfordshire, with old silver; fourteenth century. It represents the crucifixion, with figures of saints. —*Mr. E. Guy, Devizes.*

Silver matrix, the Virgin and infant Saviour; a figure kneeling: ME TIBI VIRGO TRAHE TRAHO SVRGE VENI NICHE (? for Nicholae): fourteenth century.—*Mr. James.*

Brass matrix, found at East Rudham, Norfolk, 1851. The device is a peacock: thirteenth century: LE SEEL PASKER DE TURNAI.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

Impressions in gutta percha from leaden bullæ, preserved at Malta in the Public Archives, Valetta. They comprise bullæ of Galterius, Count of Cesarea, from a document dated 1135; William, patriarch of Jerusalem, 1187; Raimund II., Count of Tripoli, 1181; Baldwin IV., King of Jerusalem, 1182; Boemund, Prince of Antioch, 1231; and Guerino, Grand Master of the knights of St. John, 1233.—*Mr. A. Milward.*

Leaden *bulla* of Pope Honorius III., 1216-1227.—*Mr. F. K. Harford.*

A fine antique intaglio in medieval silver setting, as a privy seal: device, a bearded head, possibly of Hercules: + QVI ME PORTE SI EST LE MVS: stated to have been brought from Ireland, fourteenth century. A brass seal, fourteenth century, bearing an escutcheon charged with a cross, apparently a merchants' mark: ✠ S' IOH'IS DE CARI . MARCATO . (?) Another brass seal, a lion passant, to left: + SIGNAT SERMONIS SECRETVM FORMA LEONIS.

A brass seal, device an R., surrounded by letters unexplained. Brass signet ring, an I. crowned; found at Tickhill, Yorkshire. A silver signet ring, found in St. James' Churchyard, Bristol, in digging the foundations for the Hay Market: device, a crowned R. Brass ring, fifteenth century, found in Gloucestershire: device, a hart couchant. An impression from the fine seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Lord High Admiral, October 12, 1470, afterwards King Richard III. The matrix was purchased by Mr. Hankey, of St. Columb, Cornwall, amongst old metal, and in 1782 was the property of Mr. Dennis of Penzance; engraved, Archæol. vii. pl. 5. A double seal, at one end I. O. with a merchants' mark, at the other the same initials united by a true lover's knot. A silver seal, probably of German work: on a scutcheon is seen the Temptation in Paradise, 1562. A small armorial seal—a chevron—a canton ermine, quartering five other coats.—*Mr. Jere Hill.*

A collection of matrices of seals, including that of Robert, Prior of St. Martin's, Dovor, purchased at the sale of Mr. Thomas' Cabinet; it was engraved by Lewis (Dissert. on Seals), and Hasted (Hist. of Kent, iv. p. 107), as that of Prior Robert, 1193, but it was probably the seal of

another prior of the name, 1345-50: device, St. Martin and the pilgrim; in base, the arms of the priory, a cross between four leopards' faces. A small seal bearing a merchants' mark, and at one side a lion's face: S' WILL'I WIVIAN (?). Another, with the device of a lion couchant: * WAKE ME NO MAN. A pointed oval seal, fifteenth century, being that of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Bristol, for lepers, on the west side of Redcliffe Hill, mentioned by William of Wyrcestre, Itin. pp. 206, 260. It bears a figure of the saint, holding the alabaster box, and standing in a niche: S' hospital . marie . magdalene . bristoll' . iux . *(juxta?)* bristl ... A pointed oval seal, early fourteenth century: the device a warrior saint, in banded mail: S' GAVT' . ARCHID' TRANSVIG . I' . ECC'A . TVRON. Another, fourteenth century, the Virgin and Child above, a tonsured figure, kneeling below: + S' BERALDI . P'ORIS . S' MARIE . D' . COLLECATON; engraved, Archæologia, xxi. p. 548. A round seal, same period, a lion and wyvern combatant: + S' GODEFROI . D' PLATEAV. A small oval silver matrix, of beautiful execution, representing St. Nicholas, the children in a tub near him; no inscription: the centre may be screwed out, forming a separate seal or *secretum*. Also an impression from the chapter seal of Dunkeld, representing St. Columba, (Laing, Scottish Seals, No. 1016): + S' CAPITVLI . DUNKELD' AD CAVSAS ET C'TA NEGOCIA. —*Mr. Loscombe.*

Brass matrix, pointed oval, found in the vicarage garden, Sompting, Sussex; or, as stated in Gent. Mag. xcii. pt. 2, p. 306, where a representation of this seal is given, "dug up at Cissbury Hill." It represents a tonsured figure kneeling before St. Michael, who stands on the dragon and transfixes its jaws with his spear: + S' SIMONIS . RECTORIS . ECC'E . DE STEDHAM. Stedham is a parish near Midhurst, and about twenty miles distant from Sompting.—*Rev. S. Blois Turner.*

Brass matrix; the device a cross between four stars: found at Butley Priory, Suffolk: S' RICHART LE CORTELER: fourteenth century. *Rev. C. Gaunt.*

Impressions from two small circular seals, one bearing the Holy Lamb: S' EVSTACHII. DE. AYS (?) CL'I.: fourteenth century. The other represents a tonsured person kneeling before the Virgin: F. (? for *frater*) IEHAN. DANGNET.: fifteeth century.—*Rev. Dr. White, Slymbridge.*

Impression of an interesting seal, accompanied by a drawing of the curious silver hook and chain to which the matrix is appended. It represents St. Stephen, holding in his right hand three stones, the symbol of his martyrdom: SIGILLUM. ECCL'IE. SC'I. STEPH'I. BRIST'LL'. It is preserved in the custody of the Incumbent of St. Stephen's parish, Bristol.—*Mr. W. Tyson.*

Brass matrix, the seal of the rural Deanery of Poulet, Somerset; found near Winchester, 1849.—*Dr. Mantell.*

A collection of remarkable matrices, purchased by the late eminent Warwickshire Antiquary, William Staunton, Esq., chiefly from the Tyssen collection. They consist of,—1, the fine Seal of the Prior and convent of Hatfield Regis, Essex, AD. CAVSAS. 2, Seal of Milverton, Somerset, the Virgin enthroned, holding the infant Saviour, a work of admirable skill: SIGILL' CAPELL'. B'E: MARIE. DE. MILVERTON'. 3, Circular Seal, of Quarr, Isle of Wight: in a richly decorated design of tabernacle work, appear the Virgin and infant Saviour with St. John the Evangelist (?), a demi figure of an abbot beneath, holding a crosier between his upraised hand: S' ABBATIS. ET. CŌVĒTVS. ABBATHIE. SCE. MARIE. DE. QVARARIA. 4, Seal of Henry Fraunceys, Master of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Bridgenorth, founded by Ralph Le Strange, *t.* Rich. I. Mon. Ang. vi. p. 663. It is of circular form, and represents the Supreme Being enthroned, holding the crucifix; fifteenth century: S. henricus: ffranceys: magister: ospitalis: scti (?) trinitatis de bregenorth. 5, Seal of the Priory of Holy Cross; pointed oval; above is a cross patée fitchée, a kneeling figure beneath, probably representng the Prior: * S' PRIO RATVS: SANCTE: CRVCIS. There was an alien Priory of St. Cross, in the Isle of Wight, a cell to Tyrone. 6, Seal of the chapel of St. James, Bottesford; pointed oval; figure of St. James as a pilgrim. Sigillū. capelle. sci. Jacobi. in villa de. Botellesforth. 7, Circular Seal, of Langley Abbey, Norfolk; coarsely executed. It represents the Virgin and Child.— S co'me abb'is: et co'uent'. b'te m'. de langlep.*

* See a seal of the Abbot of Langley, of earlier date, Archæologia, vol. xxv. p. 929.

8, Seal of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Eastbridge, Canterbury.* The principal device is the Virgin and Child; beneath is a demi-figure of St. Thomas: S' CO'E HOSPITAL' SC'I. THO'E MART' SVP' ESTB'GGE CANT: pointed oval; possibly a rude copy of an earlier seal. 9, An interesting French Seal, that of John, Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, called from its founder, Bec Helluin. It is probably that of John de Granger, abbot from 1334 to 1350. Another John had been abbot, 1266 to 1278. This seal represents an abbot, vested in the chasuble and holding a crosier: + S'. IOHANIS: ABB'IS: BE': MARIE: BECCI: HELLUINI.—*Rev. W. Staunton.*

Silver-gilt betrothal ring, found in the burial ground of the ancient parish church of Titsey, Surrey, now demolished. It is inscribed, + Ihc . nazaren' . rex. (fourteenth century). Also a very beautiful gemelle ring, enamelled, set with a ruby coloured stone and a white, the hoop being divisible into two pieces, which are still linked together. It was the betrothal ring of Sir Thomas Gresham, on his marriage in 1544; and it was long preserved at Weston Hall, Suffolk, with a fine full length portrait of Sir Thomas, now at Gresham College. This interesting ring was presented by John Thruston, Esq., of Weston Hall, to Mr. Leveson Gower, whose maternal ancestor, Sir John Gresham, of Titsey, was the uncle of Sir Thomas.†—*Mr. William Leveson Gower.*

A Jewish betrothal ring of gold, decorated with filagree and enamel. Instead of any setting, the head is formed with a steep ridge, like the roof of a house, opening on hinges: within is a cavity closed by a lid, and probably intended to contain a charm or pastille. On the inner side of the hoop are engraved two Hebrew words, signifying good fortune.—*Lady Fellows.*

Gold signet ring, found at Scole, Norfolk, December, 1825; set with an intaglio, representing a bearded warrior: the crest on his helmet is a lion. Silver-gilt ring, set with an Etruscan scarabæus. Enamelled silver ring, set with a medicinal stone, as believed; date fourteenth century. Silver betrothal ring, two hands conjoined; sixteenth century.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

Silver ring, found in St. James' Church-yard, Bristol; device, the initial R under a crown; fifteenth century. Brass signet ring, found in Gloucestershire: device, a hart lodged; fifteenth century. Enamelled gold ring, from Corunna, set with a turquoise, and inscribed OLIVA, 1615.—*Mr. J. Hill, Clifton.*

* Of this hospital see Mon. Ang. vol. vi. p. 691. The seal is noticed Bibl. Top. vol. i. p. 400.

† See Burgon's Life of Gresham, where a representation of this ring is given.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, AUTOGRAPHS, MANUSCRIPTS, &c.

Certificate or exemplification of the customs of the city of Winchester, a remarkable document of the thirteenth century, preserved amongst the muniments of Winchester College. (Since published in the Archæological Journal, by Mr. Smirke, vol. ix. p. 69.) The seal and counter-seal of the city are appended.—*Rev. W. H. Gunner.*

A series of ancient Deeds, from 1275 to 1693, comprising an example of almost every reign from Edward I. to William III. These documents related chiefly to the counties of Chester, Hereford, and Dorset.—*Mr. A. J. Knapp, Clifton.*

The original will of Katharine, Countess of Devon, seventh daughter of Edward IV., bearing her signature. She married William Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and died November 15, 1527.—Pedigree of the Courtenay family, a fine emblazoned roll, drawn out by Sir John Balle, Recorder of Exeter, displaced in the times of the Commonwealth. From the Muniment Chamber, Powderham Castle.—*The Viscount Courtenay.*

Original document, grant to the burghers of Chipping Sodbury by William Crassus, eldest son of William Crassus, junior, in confirmation of the grant by William Crassus, senior, his uncle, of all liberties—"que spectant et pertinent ad leges de Britoille," with certain common rights. See Rudder's Hist. Glouc. pp. 672, 674.—*Mr. H. S. Washrough, Clifton.*

MS. chronicle of Bristol to 1639, known as "Adam's Chronicle."—*Mr. H. C. Harford.*

MS. Horæ, with illuminations in the style of French art, about 1425. —The Mirrour of the World, Caxton, 1481.—The King's Concealment at Trent, London, 1667.—*Mr. J. Moore Paget.*

A volume filled with illuminated initials, and examples of early art, fragments of MSS., comprising many of great beauty.—A very curious MS. of the Apocalypse, with numerous drawings, slightly tinted with colour; German art, fourteenth century.—A copy of the Biblia Pauperum, and the Dictes and Sayengs of Philosophers, printed by Caxton. —*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

Drawing, which represents a curious Norman moulding at Llandaff Cathedral, destroyed in the recent restorations.—Impression from an unpublished portrait, by Audinet, of Sir Lewis Dyve, the distinguished royalist, governor of Sherborn Castle, where he was taken prisoner. He died 1668, and was buried at Combe Hay, near Bath.—*Rev. J. M. Traherne.*

Two forms of prayer, found in the office of the Diocesan Registry; one for the fast day appointed by Charles II. for November 13, 1678; printed by Barker; the other is that ordered by Privy Council, January

28, 1688, for his Highness the Prince of Orange (William III.), to be used after that for the Royal Family. Savoy, E. Jones, 1688.—*Mr. Charles S. Clark.*

Three ancient deeds, with seals appended—1. Release and quit claim by Richard Stradelyng to John Cottesmore and others, of all his right in the manors of Wyke, in parishes of Yatton and Clewer, &c. And because his seal was unknown to many, he procured the common seal of the town of Taunton to be appended. Both seals in fine condition. Date, June 24, 15 Henry VI. 1437. 2. Release and quit claim by the Lady Joan Bensted, daughter of the late Sir John Thornbury, late wife of William Grevyll, senior, and afterwards of Sir Edward Bensted, deceased, and mother of Richard Grevyll, &c., to John Fortescue, Serjeant-at-law, and others, of her right in the manor and advowson of Walton in Gordano, Somerset. Date, May 27, 19 Henry VI. 1441. The impression of her seal is surrounded by a twined rush or stem of grass. 3. Grant by John, son and heir of John Whytebred and Alice his wife, of Walton in Gordano, to John Newton, Esq., of a tenement called Holeweyesplace, &c., in Walton. The grantor's seal being unknown to many, the seal of the Mayor of Bristol, being at that time John Burton, is appended.—*Mr. W. Salt, F.S.A.*

Autographs of Charles I. and James II., the former being a letter to Mr. Henry Morgan, of Herefordshire; the second an order, signed by the king, shortly before his abdication, to kill a brace of bucks in Kingswood Forest.—*Mr. H. C. Harford.*

Autograph of Admiral Kempenfeldt.—*Mrs. Ellison, Huntspill.*

MS. chronicle of Bristol, comprising collections regarding charities, &c., from 1292, and a list of mayors from 1216 to 1722. "E libris Edmondi Tucker, Civit. Bristol, Pharmac. A.D. 1704." A copy of the third edition of Rowley's Poems, 1778, formerly in Taylor Combe's library, with an autograph of Chatterton's, being part of a leaf from his copy-book, dated October 26, 1766. MS. diary of John Locke, attorney, of Publow, Somerset, father of the eminent philosopher, and he appears by a note in this book to have been nearly related to John Locke, mayor of Bristol, who refused to open the gates to the king's forces in 1651. It contains various legal forms, recipes, and miscellaneous entries, amongst which is the muster-roll of "Collonel Sir Rawfe Hopton, Knight, his Band of 200 foote soldiers within the Easterne Division and Regiment of the Countie of Somerset." A copy of the History of the World, fol., 1614, once in the possession of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and left with her baggage on her hasty flight from Prague, in the night of November 8, 1620. The attestation of the soldier who gained possession of the volume in the citadel of Prague, and restored it to her

son, and other authentications, are inscribed in the book.—*Mr. Kerslake.*

DECORATIVE PAVEMENT-TILES, POTTERY, AND PORCELAIN.

Mosaic enamelled pavement-tiles, from the Alhambra.—*Mr. Philip C. Hardwick.*

Pavement-tile, design raised, from St. Alban's Abbey; tiles from Haccombe, Binfield, Chertsey, and the old Manor House, Hammersmith. Enamelled tiles; one from the Cartuja Convent, near Xeres, in Spain; another from Al Caza, at Seville, sixteenth century. Flemish enamelled tile; and three from the Château d'Ecouen, in France, made, as stated, for the Constable Anne de Montmorency, by Bernard Palissy. —*Mr. A. W. Franks.*

Pavement-tile, imperfect, found in Bitton churchyard, and bearing the arms of De Vivon, — a label of five points. Hugh de Vivon held the manor of Bitton, county of Gloucester, in right of his wife Petronilla, daughter of William Putot, sheriff of Gloucester, 1222-28. Hugh was second son of Hugh de Vivonia, seneschal of Poictiers, &c. He was slain in Wales in 1257. Petronilla married subsequently David le Bland. Also a fragment bearing the arms of England.—*Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.*

Four pavement-tiles from Thornbury Castle, forming an escutcheon of the arms of England within a garter; in the angles are introduced the Stafford badges, the knot and the wheel, with its nave in flames.—*Mr. R. S. Pope, Bristol.*

Irish decorative pavement-tile from Malahide Church, county Dublin, the ornamental pattern sunk into the clay, as on the Irish tiles described by Mr. Oldham, in his Memoir on Tiles in St. Patrick's Cathedral, &c.—*Lord Talbot de Malahide.*

Three choice examples of Majolica, one of them by Francesco Xanto of Rovigo; it bears an escutcheon, arg. a Moor's head, with the turban charged with three crosses. On the reverse, 1532. +. ×. A. R. *in Vrbino.* Plate, representing the three angels received by Abraham; rev. or, on a bend az., a crescent arg., and a comet or. *Tres vidit. . . . Adorauit.* A second with the same arms, *Ottauiano imperatore:* the Virgin and infant Saviour appear in the skies, accompanied by an angel; five figures beneath, one bearing a large covered vessel.—*Mr. Harford, Blaise Castle.*

Dish of French ware, in the style of Palissy, of end of sixteenth century. Oval dish of English pottery, dated on the back 1664, with the name Joseph King, C. W.; the ornament impressed. (Now in Brit.

Mus.). A fine specimen of stone ware, the decoration in blue, date about 1650; and another with initials C. R.—*Mr. James, Bristol.*

A triangular salt, of white ware, resembling the manufacture of Delft, but possibly English, the supporters at the three angles being the lion, unicorn, and dragon. Another salt with these supporters, and very similar to this, is figured, Gent. Mag. lviii. 1, p. 294.—*Mr. W. Tyson.*

A smelling-bottle of fine stone ware, sixteenth century.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

Cup and saucer of fine ruby Venetian glass.—*Mr. Cookson, Clifton.*

Rudely-shaped pieces of baked clay—clumps or "hand bricks," formed by a squeeze with the hand; found near Ingoldmells, on the coast of Lincolnshire, and supposed to be the traces of an ancient pottery-work. Similar objects have been found by Mr. Lukis in the Channel Islands. See Archæol. Journal, vol. vii. pp. 70, 175.—*Mr. Trollope.*

Hand-brick, found in Lincolnshire.
Height, 4 inches.

Specimens of the Bristol manufacture of porcelain.

A tea service, made about 1774, at Bristol, by Champion, by direction of Burke, for presentation to Mrs. Smith, mother of the lady in whose possession it is preserved; and by whose family Burke had been strenuously supported in contesting the representation of the city. Each piece bears the arms of Smith, with those of Pope, of Bristol, on an escutcheon.—Mark, a blue cross. Also, a specimen of *biscuit*, Bristol porcelain, an escutcheon of the same arms, surrounded by a garland of flowers. A tripod salt-cellar of the peculiar coppery-glazed ware, sup-

posed to be an imitation of a Spanish manufacture, made at Brislington.—*Miss Smith, Clifton.*

A figure of Bristol porcelain, of the finest quality, representing a Jewess pedlar with her wares. The design is very clever, the proportion rather too tall. Mrs. Ash, a lady of advanced years, who remembers the noted Bristol manufacturer, Champion, had four other figures in her possession, of the same character and dimensions.—*Mrs. Ash, Stokes Croft.*

Eleven specimens of a peculiar ware, considered by some persons to have been fabricated near Bristol, in imitation of certain wares imported from Spain. This curious pottery is of light-red soft paste, coated with a yellowish enamel, and decorated with copper lustre, highly glazed. The ornaments, fruits, flowers, and combinations of a Mauresque character, which is in accordance with the peculiar form of the vessels, are rudely designed. To one piece is attached a note, stating that it was presented by Mr. Richard Smith, having been obtained from a farmhouse at Brislington. The supposition that these wares were fabricated at that place, deserves to be investigated; whilst the introduction of Spanish wares, and their frequent occurrence at Bristol, might readily be accounted for, by the commercial intercourse of that city with the traders of southern Europe.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

Specimens of Bristol porcelain, and enamelled ware; also of the delicate biscuit ornaments as at present manufactured. A cup of enamelled Bristol earthernware, bearing date 1796.—*Mr. Alderman Pountney.*

A large Delft dish, on rev. $\frac{\text{N.}}{\text{J.}}$ E., and the date 1733. Some good specimens of Worcester porcelain, and a jug, considered to be of Bristol manufacture. A basin of oriental porcelain, repaired (probably by an artificer named Comlies), thus inscribed,—Comlies, China Burner, Queen Street, Bristol, 1786.—*Mr. Taylor.*

A "Bellarmine," or greybeard jug, found at a considerable depth in Lincolnshire.—*Mr. Hopkinson.*

A flask or pilgrim's bottle of grey stone ware, with representations of certain reliquaries at the church of St. Cornelius, near Aix-la-Chapelle. Examples of Swansea earthen ware, well painted by Young.—*Mr. A. W. Franks.*

An extraordinary figure of a female, mounted on horseback, formed of grey stone ware, with bright blue glazing. Purchased at the sale at Hayes Farm, the birthplace of Sir Walter Ralegh. It has been supposed to represent Queen Elizabeth, as she rode to Tilbury Fort. A figure of white porcelain, seeming to represent a preacher in his pulpit,

possibly intended to pourtray one of the Jesuit missionaries to China. —*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

Chinese seal, of white porcelain, being a small cube bearing on the under side characters in relief, from which an impression might be made with Indian ink or colour. On the cube is a little sitting figure, supposed to represent the Chinese monkey. This specimen precisely resembles the porcelain seals frequently found in Ireland. See Notices of Chinese Seals, by Edmund Getty.—*Rev. C. R. Manning.*

Chinese seals of steatite, of the kind now frequently used in China, in place of porcelain seals, to which in their general fashion they bear resemblance. In one instance, the base on which the animal is placed, is of oval form; no such porcelain seal, found in Ireland, had been noticed by Mr. Getty. There is one with the oval base in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

A collection of specimens of oriental porcelain, Chinese enamels on copper, and a large dish, probably part of a service of porcelain made for Edward Colston, memorable for his benefactions to Bristol; he died in 1721; it bears his arms—arg. two dolphins embowed, united by a shackle sa. Crest, the pelican in piety.—*Mr. Taylor, Bristol.*

Three good specimens of Peruvian black ware, described as found at Woolsbridge, near Wareham, Dorset.—*Rev. John Austen.*

A double gourd-shaped flask for carrying water, a curious specimen of coarse glazed ware, from the Fee Gee Islands.—*The Bristol Philosophical Institution.*

A large globular vessel of white metal, attached to a chain as if for convenience of transport, and formed with numerous cavities, carefully closed with staples and hasps, apparently for padlocks. Its use and origin unknown: by some it has been supposed to be intended to preserve valuable objects, or possibly to have been used in Eastern lands for keeping sherbets and other refreshments cool, by some artificial means of refrigeration.—*Mr. Rolls, The Hendre, Monmouth.*

Tortoise-shell combs, brought to Bristol from Jamaica with Alexander Selkirk, in 1711, by the Duke and Duchess privateers. See Rogers' Voyage round the World.—*Mr. H. C. Harford.*

A bronze axe, the cutting extremity edged with iron, the other perforated, intended, it is supposed, to serve as a pipe. Described as a calumet of the American Indians. From the Strawberry Hill Collection. —*Mr. C. W. Loscombe.*

A snuff-box, from Africa, formed of a shell, wrapped in a piece of deer's skin.—*Mr. Southcote.*

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Common Seal of the Citizens of Bristol. Obverse and Reverse.
Date, Thirteenth Century.

MEMOIR

ON THE

MUNICIPAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL;

COMPRISING NOTICES OF THE ANCIENT CIVIC OFFICES, THE MUNIMENTS, SEALS, AND REGALIA OF THE CORPORATION.

By THOMAS GARRARD, Esq.

(*Read at the Inaugural Meeting in the Guildhall, July* 29, 1851.)

The Mayor and Authorities, duly appreciating the honour conferred upon them by the visit of the Archæological Institute to this city, and being desirous of promoting the object so gratifying to themselves and to their fellow citizens, have requested that every facility be afforded for the examination of those archæological remains with which this city so peculiarly abounds.

Having been requested to prepare a paper to be read at this meeting, I have thought that nothing could be more interesting than a brief account of some of the most ancient of the civic offices, and a few remarks on the muniments belonging to the corporation, which at the close of this inaugural meeting the members of the Institute are invited to inspect.

THE OFFICE OF MAYOR OR PREPOSITOR.

The history of the city informs us that Harding, a Dane, or of Danish origin, was the first who held the office of chief magistrate, as custos or prepositor, it having been conferred upon him by William I. He was a man of great wealth, residing in the town, and was succeeded by Robert his eldest son, who was appointed by Robert Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Bristol.

The Hardings were the founders of the noble family of the Berkeleys. The office of prepositor continued until

Henry III. visited the city in 1216, when he by charter authorised the burgesses to choose from among themselves a chief magistrate to be called a mayor, which they have invariably done unto the present time; but previously to this charter we have proof of the existence of a mayor prior to the year 1100, an honourable memorial of the antiquity of the title, whose dignity is so ably sustained by the gentleman on whom for the sixth time has fallen the mantle of its authority, to the credit of himself and to the advantage and happiness of his fellow citizens.

The costume of the mayor consists of a rich scarlet robe, trimmed or lined with sable, costly embroidered gauntlets, and a gold chain; and, what is singular, it is precisely the same in form as is very beautifully depicted in a manuscript book which was prepared by one Robert Ricart, a distinguished town clerk in the fifteenth century: in civic processions he is preceded by the sword-bearer wearing the cap of maintenance, and carrying the pearl sword. Many distinguished men have filled the office of mayor; but, although it would be tedious to enumerate, it would be improper at a meeting of the Archæological Society to omit to mention one, William Canynges, the builder of Redcliff Church, "the pride of Bristowe and the Western Land," who was six times mayor of Bristol.

HIGH STEWARD.

The office of high steward has been invariably filled by noblemen holding the highest situations in the government; and though entirely of an honorary character, still we find it was earnestly sought after by the proud baron and the lofty peer, who felt their dignity enhanced by its attainment. Amongst many distinguished men upon whom the office has been conferred, we find the names of the Dukes of Somerset and Ormond, the Earls of Essex, Leicester, Pembroke, Portland, Berkeley, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Lord Grenville, and at present the head of the noble family of Somerset—the Duke of Beaufort.

Previous to the appointment of the Earl of Leicester the office had been usually filled by one of the Pembroke family; and this deviation gave much offence to Lord Pembroke, and to such an extent had it reached that the

Recorder, Mr. Popham, and the chamberlain, were sent by the corporation to Baynard Castle, "*in order to pacify him,*" in which it is presumed they were successful. His successor, the Earl of Leicester, was waited upon in London by the chamberlain with the appointment under the city seal, and which was soon followed by a tun of wine, a present from the corporation, being sent to Kenilworth. His arms were painted in London by Robert Greenwood at a cost of 5*l.* 5*s.*, and placed in the Council House; the wine cost 14*l.*; and on its way one of the Earl's officers was wicked enough to extract to the extent of nine bottles, which, reaching the ears of the then chamberlain, he had it replaced to prevent any reflection being passed upon the city.

The records relate that, accompanied by several of the nobility, he visited the city in 1587, and was "princely" entertained by the corporation at Alderman Kitchen's residence in Small-street, where he sojourned, and that during his stay he endeavoured to obtain from the corporation a grant of the tolls of St. Thomas'-street Market: in this he was not successful; the disappointment was however met with a handsome present of wine. He was notwithstanding more successful in an application of a different nature.

Alderman Kitchen had provided for his guest a bed of no ordinary description, one which the Earl must have thoroughly enjoyed, for so gratified was he with the comfort it had afforded him that his secretary intimated his Grace would be pleased with its being presented to him. The intimation was sufficient to procure for the Earl possession of the coveted bed; and in a very short time it was seen on the road to Bath whither the Earl had gone, the chamberlain and his man each on horseback, the latter conducting two more horses bearing not only the bed, but marmalade, citron, &c. The chamberlain, on his arrival with the extraordinary present, was desirous of having an interview with his Grace, which he declined. The answer conveyed to him was, that his Grace was obliged, and that he should style it his Bath bed. He might as well have styled it his Bristol bed, for to that city was he indebted for it.

The bed was termed a field-bed, and had a canopy and

curtains of green, and cost 4*l.*, the hook at its end with a staff cost 4*d.*, and the bed cord 4*d.*

This was not the only present made to him, they were numerous, particularly wine for his fêtes at Kenilworth, with a promise to pay, which I cannot find was ever realized, a very customary thing in those days; at his death Alderman Kitchen was honoured with an invitation to attend his funeral, which was accepted.

His successor, on numerous occasions, received from the hands of the corporation very munificent presents; the records speak of William, Earl of Pembroke, receiving, when staying at Bath with the Earl of Montgomery and other lords, racked canary and the choicest marmalade.

The Earl of Portland was presented with a basin and ewer of silver gilt, which weighed 98 oz.

The Earl of Pembroke also, with a basin and ewer of silver.

The Duke of Ormond, with several butts of wine.

The great Lord Hardwicke, on his appointment to the office, said it was a great honour and favour from so opulent and loyal a city, and on his retirement his language is strongly expressive: "The distinguished mark of respect which I have received on all occasions, will render me ambitious, on all occasions, in giving proof of my attachment and zeal for their service."

In the Council House are to be seen several portraits of the high stewards, amongst them more particularly to be noticed is one of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, by Vandyke.

RECORDER.

The official situation may be traced through our annals to a very remote period, and has been filled by men distinguished for their profound legal knowledge; Bristol indeed may be justly proud of having selected for such office—

SNIGGE,	BARRINGTON,
HYDE,	ASHBURTON,
ATKINS,	GIBBS,
CHURCHILL,	GIFFORD,
NORTH,	LYNDHURST,
EYRE,	AND
FOSTER,	WETHERELL;

men whose honourable career reflected the highest credit upon the corporation.

The unfortunate Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was at his death recorder; and such was the rapacity of the times, that the king who had beheaded him, claimed the salary which would have been due to him had he lived to the end of the year, and which was paid by the corporation under protest by the auditors.

The services of the recorders were rewarded with a princely liberality in early times; we find a butt of sack presented on new year's day, and racked canary, as a token of love; to another, plate, which he said had put him very much out of countenance, but it would always put him daily in mind of his duty to the city.

One (who was a great ornament to the Bench), on a basin and ewer being presented him, said, "It was the finest ever seen, and though it may be thought too fine for me, yet when it is known from whence it came, I shall be easily pardoned in making use of it;" other instances may be adduced.

The portraits of several of them perished with the Mansion House, by the hands of a lawless mob.

EARLDOM OF BRISTOL.

This title was created by James I., 1622, and was conferred by him on the ancient family of Digby, Sir John Digby, ambassador to Spain, regarding the proposed marriage of Prince Charles, being the first Earl of Bristol.

TOWN CLERK.

This office is of considerable antiquity, and has been held by men deeply versed in Criminal law. Robert Ricart, memorable as the author of the Mayors Calendar, filled the office in 1479.

SHERIFF.

This office was created by Edward III., 1373, and by charter of Henry VII. two were created.

CHAMBERLAIN.

This officer was created by Henry VII., 1499, with the

same powers as the Chamberlain of London, he was to be the custos of the royal grants and muniments, receiver of the revenues, and to have a seal. The office was abolished at the reform in 1831. The curious seal remains, together with a very elegant antique mace of silver gilt.

The interesting churches that adorn this city, rich in the architectural glories of the mediæval age; the remains of stately mansions, whose profuse decorations partake of princely magnificence; its almshouses, hospitals, and schools, all indicate a period when wealth, arising from a high state of commercial prosperity, must have abounded within its walls; a retrospective glance therefore at this commerce may not be inapplicable to the subject of this paper.

Bristol, from the amount of its trade, both foreign and domestic, and from the integrity of its merchants, was characterised by the early writers as a place distinguished above all others (London excepted) for its great commercial enterprize. At the siege of Calais in 1347 we find the city assisting with several ships, and, whenever a naval force was required, she was foremost in furnishing her allotment. Canynges, the distinguished founder of Redcliff Church, was exclusively engaged in foreign trade, and acquired great wealth. Cabot, the discoverer of America and Newfoundland, was born in this city, and his spirit of enterprize was such that Henry VII. by letters patent granted him and his three sons permission to sail for the discovery of unknown lands. In the life of Columbus by his son mention is made of the enterprize of the Bristol merchants; and in a charter of Henry IV. the king says, that, considering the notable services which very many merchants of our town of Bristol have done for us and our progenitors in many ways with their ships and voyages at their own great charge, he exempted them from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty. In 1527, we find Robert Thorn distinguishing himself; in 1578, Anthony Parkhurst seeking the island of Newfoundland; and, not to multiply instances, in 1582 Robert Aldworth assisting Sir Francis Walsingham in the western discoveries, the merchants subscribing 1000 marks.

Our merchants, distinguished as they were for their great maritime enterprize, were equally renowned for their liberal hospitality, which led to their being appropriately styled

"merchant princes;" they applied the wealth they had so honourably acquired in raising temples to the honour of Him who had protected their frail ventures over the stormy main.

These monuments of piety and gratitude still exist in the venerable churches of Redcliff, St. Stephen, and St. John, and numerous other evidences tell that in their abundance they had not forgot the aged and impotent, the young and fatherless, the destitute and forsaken; and for these good deeds, which have shed a lustre on their names and memories, they have obtained the respect and admiration of posterity.

HONORARY FREEMEN.

The city ranks amongst its honorary freemen some of the most distinguished men whose names shed a lustre upon their country, and whose sense of the honour conferred upon them is well expressed in their autograph letters which adorn the walls of the Council House.

Lord Rodney expresses it to be an honour which he should ever esteem as a most signal mark of the approbation of the second city of the British empire.

Lord Nelson expressed his gratitude for the high honour, and that it would act as a stimulus to his future exertions, and the pride he felt in having his name enrolled among the freemen of the second city in England.

Lord Collingwood, an honour highly gratifying to his feelings, and demanding his most grateful acknowledgments.

Lord Howe describes it as an honourable testimony.

Lord Hood, as a very distinguished and flattering reward.

Lord Duncan, exceedingly flattered for so great a mark of attention from so ancient a city.

Lord Eldon said he could not express how much he valued the honour.

The Duke of Wellington expressed the high honour which had been conferred by so ancient a city, so much distinguished for its loyalty.

The custos of the muniments is the town clerk; they may be briefly described as consisting of royal grants, official seals, ancient civic swords, with plate almost unequalled for rarity and beauty of design.

MUNIMENTS.

The muniments, of which the citizens may be justly proud, consist, with but few exceptions, of a regular series of royal grants, from Henry II. (1164) to the present time, many of which are beautifully illuminated and are in excellent preservation, having been transmitted from generation to generation as a sacred deposit, and have been kept with a feeling almost amounting to veneration; and as it has been justly remarked by an observant writer, "their preservation is worthy of national example."

SEALS.

Next in consideration to the muniments are the ancient seals, which regarded as works of art have been justly described by the late learned writer and antiquary, Rev. James Dallaway, as being curious for the excellence of the engraving at the time of their execution in the thirteenth century, when the first privilege of using a seal was conceded to the burgesses of the city by King Edward I.; but what adds so materially to their interest is the circumstance that they never have been out of the possession of the corporation. They are described by Dallaway, who published an interesting account in the Archæologia, Vol. XXI., p. 79.

No. 1 is circular, of brass, having a diameter 3 inches; the device on one side, is a castle, having a high portal or gateway; on the other, a ship under sail, approaching the city gate, above which a figure is seen (see the accompanying illustrations). This was used jointly for public acts and for deeds by individual burgesses; it continued until the year 1569, when the corporation applied to have a new one, which was granted.

No 2 is of brass, the description of which in the original grant is as follows:

"The one part of the seal hath supporters, which be two unicorns; upon one part of the said seal is a crest, which is two hands holding out of clouds, having in the one hand a

pair of *balance* and in the other a serpent, the signification thereof is as follows: for so much as to the good government of a city appertaineth wisdom and justice, therefore the arms issuing out of the clouds signifieth that all good gifts come from above; the balance signifieth right judgment, the serpent signifieth wisdom, the nature of the unicorn is that unto those that be virtuous they will do homage. The wreath about the helmet is gold and gules which are the colours. This was devised by the king of heralds. The superscription on one part is in Latin—*Sigillum commune Maioris civitatis Bristolliæ, anno domini*, 1569; the lower part of the seal hath no addition save the inscription *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodit eam*, 1569; it continued to be used until the passing of the Reform Bill, when a new one was substituted. Robert Coke, who was the king of arms, prepared this seal, and for setting the same in an escutcheon was paid 7*l.*, and for drawing the same in colours 16*s.* 8*d.*"

No. 3, which is of silver, presents the full bust of a king crowned, crossed by a lion passant at the breast, and with a castellet on either side, and is known from the legend to have been first used by Edward I.; the legend is likewise in the Lombardic character, the two castles which are affixed are undoubted evidence that the first Edward is meant, because they appear so placed upon his great seal with reference to his Queen Elinor of Castile.

No. 4 is also of silver; this smaller seal, an impression from which is affixed to a deed in 1352, was confined to the use of the mayor and sheriff. It is a variation from the original already described, the ship has so far entered into the water-gate of the castle as to conceal its masts and sails; upon the prow is a large pennon with the arms of France and England used by Edward III., and the Gothic letter B. behind it.

No. 5 is of copper and of small dimensions; within a circle covered with *fleur de lys* is a leopard's face, open mouthed, with the tongue depending, and very deeply engraven, the legend "S. Maior. Stapule Brist." Bristol was one of the staple towns in England confirmed by King Edward III. in 1354, by whom it was enacted, that in each of the towns a seal should be kept by a distinct officer styled the mayor of the staple.

No. 6, the chamberlain's seal, is coeval with the period of Henry VII., when the office was created, and has a legend —" Sigil Camer' Bristol."

No. 7. The material of this seal is lead, and from its appearance is of great antiquity.

PLATE.

The plate consists of some beautiful ancient specimens, presented from time to time by individuals who held high official situations in the city, or have otherwise been distinguished for their philanthropy; amongst the specimens will be seen a splended salver and ewer, presented to the corporation in the year 1594, by the executors of Alderman Kitchen, for the use of the mayor and his successors, to which, arising from its subsequent history, a peculiar interest is attached. During the lamentable riots which took place in this city in the year 1831, the salver was stolen from the Mansion House by one James Ives, and on his apprehension it was found he had cut the same into 167 pieces; the pieces have been put together and riveted on a bed of silver; and regarded in connection with this circumstance, the restored salver now presents a memorial of those dark and troublous days, when anarchy and confusion triumphed for a brief space over law, order, and property.

There may be also noticed two elegant flagons, given by Mr. John Doddridge, who was recorder and member of parliament of the city, in the year 1656, with his arms engraved thereon.

Doddridge was highly esteemed by the corporation, and marked respect was invariably shown him on his attending to hold the gaol delivery; at his death he bequeathed by will the sum of 40*l.*, to be laid out in plate for the use and honour of the city; his widow, Judith, on the 7th of May, 1659, paid the amount to the corporation, who, with an additional sum of 5*l.*, purchased these flagons, the weight of which is 152 oz.

There is also a Monteth, with an exceedingly rich collar, which was presented by the Society of Merchants, in the year 1628, to Captain Pitts, for nobly defending his vessel in a voyage from Jamaica to the city, and

which, to the great credit of the late corporation, was purchased by them at a cost amounting to 148*l.* 16*s.*, to prevent this beautiful testimonial to valour being lost to the city; its weight is 266 oz.

The grace cup possesses considerable interest, being used on all civic occasions. Royalty, as well as the most distinguished men of the day, have drank out of it. The cup was presented to the corporation by William Birde, when on his death bed, in 1599; its weight is 30 oz.

SWORDS.

There are four swords, the oldest of which is of a most elegant form, and is termed the pearl sword, from the scabbard, at the period of presentation. being inlaid with those jewels. It is however to be regretted that the same feeling to which we are indebted for the preservation of our records did not extend here; unfortunately no respect has been shown to the pearls, and the scabbard has been entirely despoiled of these ornaments.

It was presented to the corporation in the year 1431, by John Willis, the then lord mayor of London, as appears by the following inscription on the handle:—

"John Willis of London, Grocer and Mayor,
To Bristow gave this sword fair."

Over the inscription are his arms, and underneath those of the town, with the motto Grace and Mercy. There is a circumstance connected with this sword which should not be omitted. At the period when the throne was tottering, in the reign of the unfortunate Charles, Francis Creswicke, his devoted friend, was filling the office of mayor, and his attachment to his royal master having reached the ears of Fiennes, who was then governor of Bristol, he wrested this insignia of office from him, and with his own hands delivered it to a rebel who was appointed to succeed him. Fiennes' insulting bearing on the occasion was truly characteristic of his master Cromwell.

The second sword is denominated the Lent sword, from its being used during that season; it has a scriptural quotation on the scabbard. It was repaired in the year 1592,

and, to record this, has the following quaint lines engraved upon it:—

"This sword we did repair,
Thomas Aldworth being Mayor."

The scabbard is of black velvet, with rich silver gilt ornaments.

No. 3 has a similar scabbard, and is also ornamented with silver gilt devices; it was made during the mayoralty of John Knight in 1670. On one side it has the king seated in his robes holding the sceptre, and on the reverse the royal arms with this inscription—"Semel mori." I think it was used on the occasion of holding the gaol delivery.

No. 4 is large and massive, with a scabbard of scarlet, highly embellished with ornaments of silver gilt. It was purchased by the corporation in the year 1753, at a cost amounting to 188*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*; the weight of the silver is 201 oz., and the charge per oz. was 17*s.* 6*d.*

Bristol stands pre-eminently forth for its loyalty. At a very remote period its citizens were distinguished for their inviolable attachment to the throne and constitution, a feeling which still animates the hearts of their descendants in the present generation. Within its walls royalty has on numerous occasions found an asylum and protection in the faithful band of its citizens who gathered round its standard; and in our records we find many instances expressive of monarchical affection and regard for the city. The scaffold has been reddened by the blood of its bravest and best citizens, for their devotion to the royal cause; and when the unhappy Charles, in his dire extremity, appealed to them for assistance in recovering his throne, the appeal was responded to by a gift of 10,000*l.* (a large amount if the relative value of money be taken into consideration), and many of its most distinguished citizens further endeavoured to assist the king by a sale of their plate.

ON THE CONNECTION OF BRISTOL WITH THE PARTY OF DE MONTFORT.

By SAMUEL LUCAS, Esq., M.A.

For an estimate of the political relations of De Montfort, it is scarcely necessary to insist here that the predominating feature of the reigns of our Plantagenet kings was their inveterate struggle with their subject barons. The old chronicles reveal the truth in its plenary proportions; and in these our history is invested with a species of dramatic unity which is often lost sight of in our modern disquisitions. It is here we behold with national pride that which distinguishes it from other histories, especially from that of our European rival. France succumbed at successive epochs to the preponderance of her feudal or monarchical element. She sustained comparatively no compromise between her opposite principles of *Nulle terre sans seigneur*, and *L'état c'est moi.* But in England for centuries the conflict was interminable. Hither and thither swayed the surges—the strife of the vanquished unsubdued by defeat, and of victors who were not wholly victorious. And in the old chronicles, where its history lies as yet in a great measure uneliminated, its spirit is embodied by athletic forms in every posture of an emulous activity; and there we must go to see a vigorous rendering of the approved principle of progress by antagonism; to behold a representation sanguinary in its incidents, yet exalted to the level of an august spectacle, resembling the frieze of a Greek temple by its incessant combat and its continuing procession.

We may naturally have in view the high proportions of the epic conflict, though limiting our remarks to one of its stages, at the point to which attention is at present directed —the commencement on the part of the commons of England to take a share in its political combinations. There

was this difference in the position of the party of De Montfort and that of the old anakims who parleyed at Runnymede, that these the descendants were supported by a power from which their sires derived little assistance; that is to say, they were heartily backed by the power they had paid court to, that of the English municipalities. I would remark, for its general bearing on my subject, that whereas the boroughs had been growing in importance, they were now disposed to assert their claims to be treated like others with increased consideration. They were ready to look their king in the face not only with the consciousness of newly found strength, but with the knowledge that they had not derived it from him. For all his resources they had equivalents. They had stone walls to oppose to his armies, and bulwarks to repel his engines of war. If *he* practised jousting, they played at the quintain; and, what was more, their municipal franchise was as precious to them as the royal prerogative.

This temper is not to be regarded as the attribute of any one borough apart from the rest; but, it may be observed, that generally, Bristol included, they were disposed to regard, from their own point of view, the system of royal tallages and exactions. That this was the case with the *seaports* of England, at all events, we have incontestable proof. These had increased by the means of their commerce. "What," says a writer of the time* of Henry, "were the ships of Tarshish as compared with thy ships, England, for their distant portage of most precious merchandise? The sea extends around thee like a wall, and lofty castles make thy ports like gates. Thou aboundest in warriors, clergy, and merchants; and all nations of the earth have reason to bless thee whose backs are warmed by the fleeces of thy sheep." Here is an obvious allusion to the export of which Bristol was a principal emporium. And at this time, to verify the words of the writer, we find that Bristol was remarkably flourishing; it was building a quay and constructing a bridge; incorporating its suburbs and enlarging its fortifications; it was natural therefore that, sharing so largely in the growing commercial prosperity of the country, it should share the views of the trading communities. Its known antecedents prepare us

* Matth. West.

for the fact which was legibly seen in succeeding years, that Bristol took part with his Majesty's opposition.

At the same time Bristol was the property of the crown, in course of descent from John the Unstable. It had come into the hands of Henry as his fee; and he, in the course of his turbulent reign, bestowed it as a marriage portion on his son. In the summer of the year 1254 Prince Edward was married to Eleanor of Castile; and on that occasion King Henry settled the borough of Bristol, with other possessions still more important, on the youthful pair. Prince Edward was generous to the extent of his opportunities, and inclined to enjoy what he had to the utmost. Two years after we learn from Smythe, the Berkeley historian, he treated his father in a very magnificent style at Bristol. "King Henry in July, in the 40th yeare of his reigne, stayed fower dayes in Bristoll at the charge of Prince Edward, *which cost the prince* 34*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, *and seven hogsheads of wyne.*" This, it must be admitted, was a hearty mode of evincing a proper filial respect, though it could not be regarded as considerate to the citizens. At that time wheat was sold in Bristol at the monstrous price of 16*s.* a bushel. We learn from an entry in one of its calendars that men fought for "carcases of dogs" in our streets. At such a time, with carrion in their mouths and congenial enmities lurking in their hearts, they were not, I infer, in a suitable mood to approve the excessive festivity of the king.

It is probable, that if we possessed an itinerary like that which we have for a portion of the reign of King John, we should find that they were frequently favoured with the king's presence. We have proofs that he was here at the commencement of his reign, when the pope's legate, Gualo, presided at a council, having previously assisted at his coronation at Gloucester.

> "Therefor the Legate Galon, and the Barons of this londe,
> A counselle made at Martiamas at Bristowe, I understonde."

These are the rhymes of Robert of Gloucester. At all events, the connection of the king and his son, in their capacity of landlords, with the burgh of Bristol, imposed little restraint on the sentiments of the citizens. It appears from the chronicle of Matthew of Westminster, that, in 1263,

at the breaking out of the troubles, Prince Edward came to the Castle of Bristol intending to secure it, and to levy contributions with that intention on the town and neighbourhood. But the townsmen at heart were supporters of De Montfort, and thus there arose a violent sedition between them and the soldiers of Edward. The upshot was, that the soldiers were beaten, and the townsmen prepared to besiege him in the castle. But by means of the Bishop of Worcester who had influence here, as the visitor of the principal religious foundations, terms were agreed on, and Prince Edward thereupon surrendered the castle, and departed from the town in great indignation.*

It is unnecessary here to note the advances which had been previously made by De Montfort to the boroughs. To mention the parliament of Oxford will sufficiently suggest the many bearings of a great controversy, which I should feel the greatest reluctance to trifle with, in the presence of the Historian of the middle ages. The motives of the Earl, to enlist the boroughs, have been amply canvassed, and whencesoever derived their representation in his famous parliament, I am safe in saying that their presence was a privilege, and was so regarded in their then state of fermentation. "There grew up," says Wikes, in a passage referred to by the local historian, "a detestable custom throughout the entire realm of England, that in almost all the cities and boroughs a conspiracy was made of *Ribalds*, who publicly called themselves *Bachelors* (*conjuratio Ribaldorum qui se Bachilarios publice proclamabant*), and oppressed the chief men of the cities and boroughs by their violent attempts." With this evidence, of a novel order of things displacing an old, I am only proposing to deal as a fact, and that in the shape in which facts were most prominent in the middle ages, when the principles they involved were finally ripe for decision by the sword.

I must necessarily refer to the general features of the contest, as far as they were displayed in the form of actual war. The strength of the Royalists lay in the north, and two or three counties of the extreme west. The Barons were favoured, in the midland counties, the south east, the Cinque Ports, the boroughs generally, and especially in London and its immediate neighbourhood. As the great

* See the more minute particulars in Rishanger's Chronicle, p. 13.

bell of St. Paul's was sounded the citizens gathered together in arms. In their eagerness to begin, as their custom was, they first of all vented their anger on the Jews. No less than some scores of that hapless race were killed in a sort of preliminary battue. It was their well-known fate, on all occasions of sudden excitement, to furnish this diversion; and in the present instance they were robbed and murdered, without reference to their predilections, with extreme impartiality. When the citizens of London had whetted their zeal with the ordinary pastime their exuberance subsided, and they set to in earnest at the work of preparation.

As long as was possible Leicester himself remained in the capital to concentrate his forces. While the royalists were active in opening the war he was collecting his men and preparing military engines. When the former marched to attack the cinque ports he was forced, as it were, to hazard a battle. Previously, however, he impressed on his followers that the cause they espoused was the cause of heaven. They were not only going to vindicate liberty, but in respect of the king's engagements to avenge a perjury. The Bishop of Worcester gave absolution and the repute of martyrdom to such as should fall, and the earl required them to assume the white cross as the badge of enlistment in a sacred enterprise. Encouraged in this way they took their course southward as if they had been marching to a holy war.

They found King Henry at Lewes, in Sussex; and here I must apologize for referring to the circumstances of a battle so well known, but I cannot pass them over, for they have incidentally a bearing on my subject. The king, confiding in his superior numbers, was not induced to leave the spot on which he was encamped at the approach of the enemy. With him was a huge and motley gathering—rough-riding Borderers under the Percies, ravenous Scots with Bruce and Balliol, Bigods and Bohuns, and various contingents, who had conjointly a menacing aspect. Leicester had a smaller but apparently a finer assortment; Derby, Despencer, Marmion, and Seagrave, with other exemplars of the chivalry of the time, were included among the ranks of his partisans. He had also a numerous body of Londoners, and with his aggregate force he encamped at Flexinge,

which was a few miles distant from the army of the king. He had arrived in the evening. After an attempt at negotiation on the following morning, the 14th of May, he descended the hollow to bring the contest to a summary conclusion. On the other side, Prince Edward, remembering no doubt their very uncivil treatment of his mother, whom they had pelted with rotten eggs—*fractis ovis*—(it is literally so),* commenced with a furious onset on the Londoners. The latter were broken. They had yet to acquire the experience of the Flemings at the battle of Courtrai. As yet there had not been a single field where burghers on foot withstood charges of cavalry, and accordingly these were swept in confusion, with Edward and his horsemen hewing them as they fled. They were slaughtered by hundreds; though, on the other hand, Prince Edward paid dear for his agreeable exercise. While he, like Prince Rupert, was charging afar, Simon de Montfort, with his fighting sort, came on with an appetite and encountered the king. When Edward returned the business was ended. Henry, with his brother the King of the Romans, John Comyn, Robert Bruce, and other notables, were prisoners in the power of Simon de Montfort. There were lying on the ground, as a secondary proof of his prowess, the bodies or component segments of the bodies of somewhere about five or six thousand men.

Complete as the victory was it was most glorious on this account, that after the battle, as far as we may learn, there were no victims to party resentment. It was reserved for the conquerors in a later contest to wade onward to a Whitehall from their victory of Marston Moor. On this occasion, the king and his family were leniently kept as hostages while the treaty was signed called the "Mise of Lewes," by which the dispute was referred to arbitration. If any parties had exceptional reason to complain it was the Londoners, whose competence fell short of their enthusiasm.† It must be here acknowledged that it was due to the barons, whom it is commonly now the fashion to disparage, that they were not trodden down in the dust irrevocably. Here was

* Wikes. Rishanger merely says "stones and mud," but then he adds she was "enormiter basphemata atque exclamata turpiter quod non licet recitare."

† "Cives vero Londiniarum ad bella verbis expediti non tamen in arte bellicâ periti."—The Worcester Chronicle, quoted in Mr. Halliwell's Notes to Rishanger, p. 135.

a signal benefit rendered by the tenants of castles, dispute it who will. Till the fashion of puffing powder came in, this class alone, by their habits of warfare, were able to limit the royal excesses. We incurred a debt to them in ancient times, and whether or not we have paid it since it is handsome to remember a past obligation.

After the battle, the king wrote a letter to the commander of the Castle of Tunbridge, his partisan, commanding him to refrain from further hostilities. He ordered him also to send away his men, every one to his home, as a pledge of obedience. The garrison however considered the question from their own point of view, and instead of disbanding, as unwilling to despair of the royal cause, they marched across country and took refuge at Bristol. Here it appears, from Knighton's account, that they occupied the castle which Prince Edward had garrisoned. While here they made themselves notable for an attempt to release the same prince from his prison at Wallingford. The circumstances, as they are graphically told by the Chroniclers, I will here narrate as of singular interest.

Thus Robert of Gloucester, reduced into prose, tells us that "they who held with the king and were not taken prisoners went about here and there wherever they could. At last they came to the Castle of Bristowe, as many as seven banners, where they kept themselves firmly, viz., Sir Warin de Bassingbourne and Sir John de Muchegros, Sir Pain de Chause and Sir Robert Tipètot, and many others *and their wives* who did not like this state of things; and there they held themselves on the defence, either to live or die, until they should see better times. When the queen saw that it was but a weak guard which was kept about her son in the Castle of Wallingford, she sent word to Bristowe that the knights might with little strength win him out of *thulke* castle. Whereupon the knights took counsel, and with 300 horse they went to Wallingford well armed on a Friday, just as the sun rose. They assaulted the castle *in a wonderful manner*, against All Halow's Church, and took the first ditch and broke through the outermost wall and got within. They that were within defended the castle well, and shot at them with cross bows and other warlike weapons; and said to them without, that unless they would retire, they would

with pleasure bind Sir Edward and cast him to them out of an engine, (in the original, 'would Sir Edward out to them send *ilithered with a mangonel*,') and *so* they might take him with them. Sir Edward himself also came upon the wall within and spoke to them, and bade them go home again, otherwise he should be put to death. When they heard this they went away," and returned to Bristol; not, as I suspect, without secret rejoicings of the townsmen at their discomfiture.

At length, even Bristol Castle was abandoned. "The seven banners that were in the Castle of Bristowe, in hostility against Sir Simon de Montfort, kept themselves firmly safe in that place, and many other *bannerets* and knights. Often did the king send his letters commanding them to deliver up the castle to Sir Simon; but they refused to obey. At last, letters came from Sir Edward himself, ordering them to surrender the castle and depart; with which order, no longer daring to remain, they in great sorrow at length complied and every man went his own way." The *townsmen—Ribalds*, as Wikes would term them—took possession of the castle the instant they departed. Then, though notoriously favouring De Montfort, they took an exceedingly ingenious method of anticipating their prospect of punishment by the king. While he was in confinement, and consequently unable to act upon his own notions of propriety, they sent an embassy with great humility to ask his pardon for rebellious practices. At this early date the townsmen displayed the subtlety for which they were afterwards famous, and in this instance their diplomacy was so far rewarded that they gained what they bargained for—a *nominal* forgiveness.

They were not, as we shall see, much advantaged in the end, for before many months had elapsed the contest was renewed under different auspices. It is unnecessary here to state in detail how the rival ambition of the Earl of Gloucester created difficulties for Simon de Montfort; by what means the former, in conjunction with the Earl of Derby, became favourable to the release of Prince Edward; or how their plan for his escape succeeded. Edward, at all events, on a Whitsun Thursday arrived safe at Ludlow, and there he was joined by the Earl of Gloucester, and subsequently by some others. He took Worcester and marched

to Gloucester, where his progress was delayed by "300 *young gentlemen*"—(Ribalds, as I suppose)—who threw themselves into the castle and resolutely maintained it. At the end of three weeks, their provisions failing, they were compelled to surrender; and Prince Edward in consequence was at perfect liberty to pursue his arrangements. At this time Simon de Montfort was at Hereford, together with King Henry, whom he kept by his side. With him he had but a portion of his army, for the residue was with his son in the neighbourhood of Kenilworth. It was the object of Edward to prevent their junction, and with this view he destroyed the bridges on the Severn. Thereupon De Montfort removed to Monmouth, and thence to Newport, whence he made an attempt to cross the channel by means of his friends at Bristol.

Thus he sent a message requesting them to despatch without delay all the ships they could procure, "that he, with the king and the army that was with him, might convey themselves to Bristol on board of the ships. The Earl of Gloucester having discovered this intention, placed at anchor (*appendebat*) three private ships which he had, commonly called *gallies*, at the entrance of the harbour where the ships must land; and with the sailors he put on board a very large number of fighting men, who seeing the fleet coming from Bristol approaching the coast, attacked them very violently in the sea, took and sunk eleven of them, and forced the rest to return." It is probable they were unarmed, not expecting the encounter. Afterwards "the Earl of Gloucester and the Lord Edward, proud of having gained so great a victory, raising their standards and setting their troops in array, went out to battle to the bridge which leads into the town, hoping to enter it with their adversaries, and there to fight." The townsmen were probably proud of their bridge, which was then a novelty, having been recently erected. Nevertheless, when they found they were unable to make good the bridge itself, after fighting thereupon, (*habito prius congressu in pontis medio*,) and being violently driven back, they threw fire on that part of it which was nearest to the Earl's town, (*i. e.*, the Gloucestershire side of the bridge,) and burnt it, and so prevented the enemy from entering. Edward, baffled as regards Bristol, marched towards Kenilworth, surprised

young De Montfort, took his horses and treasure and routed his army.

In the mean time the Countess of Leicester, as we know by the account of her private expenses printed for the Roxburghe Club, was making interest with the burgesses of the cinque ports, and sending off reinforcements to her son and husband. The Earl himself, disappointed of the ships he looked for from Bristol, had ascended the left bank of the Severn, and crossing it higher up had encamped near Worcester, and here he was anxiously looking for his son as he marched to Evesham on the river Avon. He was there, as we know, about the beginning of August, when the battle was fought, the popular and striking version of which I may be pardoned perhaps for hastily recalling. It is said, that one morning, as he looked towards the hills in the direction of Kenilworth, he beheld, instead of his son whom he waited for, the army of Edward advancing in close order. Their overwhelming display, with the martial manner of their approach; or, as some say, the circumstance that they had borrowed his son's banners, at once suggested a presentiment of his fate. "By the arm of St. James," said he, "they come on cleverly. These are my pupils in the art of war." Then, remembering his danger, he uttered these words, "Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are Prince Edward's." A few moments longer he continued in prayer and then took the sacrament, as his custom was, with the grand humility of the heroic times. Then he made the best disposition of his forces, and attempted to open the road to Kenilworth. But failing in this, he drew them back and formed them in a circle on the summit of a hill. It is said that he invited some of his more valued adherents to fly and save themselves for better times; and, when they refused, he drew them up to receive the charges of the enemy, whom they several times repulsed with a courage indescribable. In one of these charges King Henry was unhorsed, and was in danger of being killed by some of his own partisans. As he was lying upon the ground, slightly wounded—"*remediabiliter vulneratus*," as a chronicler says—one of his men was about to despatch him, when he exclaimed, "Hold your hand; I am Henry of Winchester." Prince Edward, who heard him, rescued his father, carried him out of the *melée*, and placed him in

safety. On the other side, the earl had neither aid nor respite, for the whole weight of the battle fell upon him, according to William De Nangis, but "as he was an old and shrewd warrior he stood the shock like a strong tower." * At length his Welsh were broken and dispersed, and the cloud of hostile spears grew denser. He is then said to have "asked the royalists if they gave quarter, and was told that there was no quarter for traitors: his gallant son Henry was killed before his eyes; and at last, overcome himself by numbers, he fell, and 'terminated,' says another chronicler, 'an hereditary prowess, rendered famous by his glorious actions.'"

The closing scene of his life was truly worthy of his great name and remarkable career. "*Martyrium*," says the chronicler, "*pro patriæ et regni reparatione et matris ecclesiæ ut credimus, consummavit gloriosum.*" He was nothing less than "a glorious martyr" in the eyes of the writer herein quoted, who tells us of his fate in the annals of Waverley. "In the same hour in which he fell," says the monk, who delights to surround his hero with supernatural signs and omens, "there was great thunder and lightning and fitful splendours, and the sun was darkened over the entire earth." The people, we are told, honoured him as a saint, and the first ballad in the English language of any importance was written in his praise. They complained of the church because it would not canonize him; and as a compensation they secretly enshrined him in their hearts.

That he must have possessed some genuine virtues is evident, I infer, from his favour † with the multitude. I am aware that many have entertained and expressed a less favourable estimate of the motives of his public conduct. But I may venture, on a subject which can be at the best a matter of speculation, to express my opinion that there was a worth in the popular plaudits of that day, because they

* "Sicut gigas fortiter dimicans," is the expression of another writer.

† "If it were true that he paid court to the lower orders to gain allies against the nobility, as an ancient chronicle and several modern historians have surmised, it would only more clearly prove that his ambition was guided by sagacity; that he saw the part of society which was growing in strength, and with which a provident government ought to seek an alliance; that, amidst the noise and confusion of popular complaint, he had learnt the art of deciphering its often wayward language, and of discriminating the clamour of a moment from demands rooted in the nature and circumstances of society."—Introd. to Rishanger's Chronicle, p. 40. (Camden Society.)

were the unsolicited utterance of the shrewd natural sense of the community. When they designated a man as worthy reverence, it was generally because that man was in reality and not in semblance the champion of the people. It was thus that they honoured remarkable men whose characters at first seem antipopular. It was thus that they gathered round the tomb of Becket, the priestly patron of the Saxon race. It was thus that they hallowed the death scene of De Montfort, the lordly saviour of the liberties of England.

I suggest once more that he *saved* the latter, though in the process he sacrificed himself. Though he fell at Evesham; though with his death there was bloody havoc among his followers, no clemency being shown to knight or churl; yet the war did not terminate with their extinction. It was prolonged for a time by a son of the earl, another Simon de Montfort, and his friends; and it was not ended for two or three years, till they and the royalists had agreed upon terms. On the 18th of November, 1267, just two years and three months after the battle of Evesham, the parliament at Marlborough met and adopted several provisions, which were reckoned among the most valuable of De Montfort's laws. Then resistance ceased, and the patriots submitted; and though London had been fined 25,000 marks, and Bristol 1000*l.*, the discontents were appeased.

If in any other more durable sense the Bristolians were affected by their association with De Montfort, at all events their connection with his family did not end here; for the fortunes of one of them, his daughter Eleanor, although no longer in a party sense, were again conspicuously identified with Bristol. After the De Montforts had retired to the continent, in the year 1275, just ten years subsequent to the battle of Evesham, the Countess of Leicester, "*which remained in France*, sent her daughter to Wales to marry with Llewellin." What happened is thus described by Wikes and the annalist of Waverley:—"Almeric de Montfort, with two knights of France and two friers preachers, sailing through unfrequented parts of the sea, was bringing his sister Alienor, daughter of the late Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, to Wales, to *whom* she had been affianced during her father's life. As they sailed near the port of Bristol, the citizens of that town,

taking particular notice of the ship, judged that there was *something unusual* in her; and, taking possession of her and all her lading, they brought them against their will into the port of Bristol, and presented them, no ignoble prize, to their lord the king with triumphant joy." It is on this circumstance that a writer in the Archæologia has founded his ingenious hypothesis of the origin of the design of the ship and castle on one of the Bristol seals. The legend which surrounds them

"Secreti clavis sum portûs. Navita navis
Portam custodit. Portum vigil indice prodit,"

is thus interpreted:—"I am the key of the secret port. The pilot steers the helm of the ship. The warder points out the port with his forefinger." And this rendering he further connects with the story of Eleanor by the following suggestion.

The vessel in which she was taken, he says, was discovered by pilots at the mouth of the Avon. The vessel was becalmed, and the pilots (*cives*), who were only four according to Walsingham, induced the mariners, by promises of safety, to enter the harbour of Bristol; for it was not possible that they could have compelled them by actual force. The *surprise*, as it is termed by other chroniclers, consisted in the piloting of this ship, carrying possibly the marriage portion of the bride, with other splendid furniture, into the creek or *secret port* of the castle, instead of the *open port* of the town, and there surrendering the prize into the hands of the king himself, who, as it may be inferred, was at that time keeping his court within his Castle of Bristol.

I have it in my power, I believe, to set at rest this conjectural view, which is based on the assumption that there were only four citizens engaged in the capture, for on the great roll of the exchequer for the fifth year of Edward I., under the account of the issues of the castle and town of Bristol, I find the minister of the crown claiming allowance as follows: "And to divers men who lately captured on the sea Almaric de Montfort and Eleanor his sister ninety marks of the king's gift; to wit, to John Martyn twenty marks, to Gilbert Lomeday twenty marks, to Patrick le Rede ten marks, to Hervey atte Water fifteen marks, to

Roger de Hagenhille ten marks, and to John Skyp ten marks, and to Thomas de Panes who carried the news of the capture aforesaid to the king one hundred shillings; and to the crews of the four Bristol *ships* who captured the aforesaid Almaric and the others who were with him two hundred marks of the king's gift:" and while this disposes of the received theory, I may mention further that the cost of maintaining the prisoners during the short time they were kept in Bristol Castle was 49*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*, and 1*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* was spent in iron gyves for the safe custody of the meaner sort of them.*

I will only add, that Edward released Eleanor some two or three years later, and that the aforesaid, who, according to Matthew of Westminster, was "a very elegant young lady," was married to Llewellin. By the register of the Abbey of Kainsham, which the writer quotes, it appears that she died soon after her marriage, anticipating her husband only by a year or two, who was slain in an attempt to repel his English invaders. Tradition points out the place where he fell in a spot which is called *Llewellyn's Dingle*, and where it is said he was found at full length in a field of *broom*, reconnoitring the enemy; and, receiving his death wound, was observed to curse the plant for its fatal treachery in neglecting to conceal him. Since that time, says the legend, the spot is blasted, and the place where his body lay is bare. If I may hazard a conjecture as to the meaning which is commonly concealed under a popular mythus, I should say, that dying, he cursed the *Plantagenet*, the common enemy of himself and the De Montforts. As an amusing illustration of the singular facility with which a popular tradition is corrupted, a friend of mine visiting the neighbourhood recently was shown the spot where Llewellin fell, being killed, as his informant averred, with *broom-sticks!*

To return, however, from this digression to the contest, which is the proper subject of my paper, I wish to observe, that in estimating its issue it is necessary to look before and after. Reverting only to the preceding reign, we see a

* A subsequent Pipe Roll shows that Eleanor de Montfort was removed from Bristol to Windsor Castle, where she remained forty-two weeks and four days, during that time she received 30*s.* per week for the support of herself and servants. From Windsor she was sent to Wallingford Castle. After this second remove I can discover no further traces of her.

like array of barons extorting the celebrated charter from John. And, as I said, we may regard the war of De Montfort as but a part of an extended movement, of which it partook the general characteristics.

In estimating the effect of this movement as a whole, it is obvious that its influence was profoundly felt at a time when the merits of its champion were forgotten. For ten reigns—more than two centuries—the power of the crown was kept within limits, which checked for the most part the savage excesses so common with the earlier Norman sovereigns. From Edward the First to Richard the Third the domain of public right was increasing The law was more potent, the parliaments freer, and the constitution became favourable to freedom. We might almost fancy the shade of De Montfort was standing beside the humbled throne, and whispering in the ear of the king, "Thou art mortal." Of this we may be sure, his spirit was living in the hearts of the race of barons who followed him. Their swords were the secret safeguards of our charters, as the Biscayan's dagger concealed in his vest was the guarantee of his cherished *Fueros*. How potent they were we only perceive when their edges were blunted in the wars of the Roses. Then, when the race was reduced to a remnant, the regal power renewed its encroachments, and attained to that pitch of Tudor tyranny which bequeathed its legacy of odium to the Stuarts. But for the interval its malignancy waned we are conscious to whom we owe our deliverance. To the turbulent barons—the men who upheld the cause of the boroughs while the boroughs were feeble—to those, who battling for their own immunities were nobly solicitous for the national freedom, we owe the GREAT CHARTER, with its many confirmations. To them we assign the credit of a strife, generous in one sense although implacable. From them we inherit the results of their struggle, developed in our liberties and registered in our laws.

ON SOME PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS IN BRISTOL IN THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI. AND THE EARLIER PORTION OF THAT OF EDWARD IV.

By WILLIAM TYSON, F.S.A.

By the kindness of my friend, Thomas Garrard, Esq., the last of a long line of the Chamberlains of Bristol, and our present City Treasurer, I am enabled to submit to the members of the Institute a transcript of an ancient document, which I have thought might probably prove not altogether unworthy of their notice.

It appears from this document that soon after Edward IV. had assumed the crown of England, a writ of Privy Seal was directed to authorities of Bristol, commanding that a quantity of gunpowder and other stuff that had been sent here by the master of the ordnance of Henry VI., should be delivered up to the King's use. The document I am about to read consists of instructions for a return to the writ, and incidentally refers to the national contests between the adherents of the Duke of Somerset and those of the Duke of York, the father of Edward IV.; to the raising and purveying of an armament of ships to the parts of Wales, by the Mayor and Common Council of Bristol, against Jasper, Earl of Pembroke; and principally to the way in which the gunpowder had been disposed of.

The document is without a date: it was subsequent to September, 1461, when the King came to Bristol. Richard Alberton, one of the three persons to whom the writ was directed, was Sheriff of Bristol from 1462 to 1463, and I apprehend the date may be fixed in one or the other of those years. It was addressed to Thomas Young, the then Recorder of Bristol, who is requested to communicate

its contents to the Lord Chamberlain, for the information of the King. The document is in these words:—

The dispendinge of the gonne poudyr that hadde from harry Maye In the tyme of Willm Canyng, Maire.

Hit is to bee Remembred that in the dayes of the regne of King Harry, that was of dede, & nott of right, there was sent to Bristowe v. barels of gonne powdyr, iiij. barels of salt petyr, and two barels of Brymstone powdyr, to the poys of xx C., lityll more litill lesse, by oon John Judde, that tyme Maistre of the same Harries ordyn'nce, & putte by hym in the handys, kepinge, and govern'nce, of oon harry Maye, March'unte of the seid towne of Bristowe, to be sold by hym to the profite & advaile of the seid John Judde. After the resceyte of whiche xj. barels by the said harry Maye in maner & fourme forsaide, the seid p'tensed king, with othr his adherents, maliciously p'poseng the deth & distruccion of the ryght high & myghti prynce Duc of York, whoos soule god assoile, hys sonnys, & other lordes, his wellewillers as muche as in theyme was; and William Canynges then beyng Maire of the said towne of Bristowe, vndirstonding wele & knowing for certeine the seide harry May to be of like disposicion and assistent to Jamys, then being Erle of Wiltshire, by Counsaile, comfort, worde, and dede, as moche as in him was, by the grete advise and assent of all the Comyn Counsaile of the seid towne, the said xj. barels did arreste & theyme putte into the Tresoure Chambyr of the said towne.

After whiche arreste the said high & myghti prynce Duc of York, on whoos soule god haue mercy, sent two Comyssons to the said Maire & Comyn Counseile, desiring, in the same, that they shuld take vpon theyme the rule, govern'nce, & defens of the kingys Castell of Bristowe, ayenist the purposed malice of the Duc of Som'seth, which entended, as he ryght wele vndirstode, to haue entre & rule of the said Castell; Atte which tyme & in the same Castell was spent a p'cell of the said stuff to the some of iiij C wight or thereby.

Itm after that the king our naturall liege lord that nowe is sent vnto the said Maire & Comyn Counsaile like comaundement.

And after that our said naturall liege lorde sent to the said Maire & Comyn Counseile to purvey & make an

Armye of as many shippys as they myght to the p'ties of Walis to resiste the malice of Jasper that tyme called Erle of Pembroke, and to take or distroye al such shippis as to hym were belonging & to other of his affynytes, which said Armye was made & sent forthe at the Costys of the said Maire & Counseile to the costys and chargis of v C marc, & more atte which tyme there was dispended of the said stuffe ix C wight litill more litill lesse.

And after that Armye soo made our said naturall liege lord comaunded ayeine the said Maire by his writinge & by Jnstructon yeven vnto Thomas Mauncell, oon of the Vsshers of his hall, to doo aresrte al shippis, bargys, balingers, & pycardys, for a newe armye to be made into the said p'ties of Walis, & to purvey for xxiiijti barels of gounne powdyr and other stuff for the said Armye ayeinst his comyng into thies Marches.

At whoos comyng to Bristowe the Resydue of al the saide stuff with other stuff, of the said towne, by hys hygh comaundement, was deliu'ed to Philip harneys, Maistre of his ordyn'nce, by the handys of Thomas Hore Chamberleyne of the said towne of Bristowe, xiij C & more of gonne powdyr, in viij kilderkyns, to stuff the said shippis for the said Armye, And in this wise, & in noon other wise hit is dispended by the kingys hygh auctoritee.

All whiche matiers before rehersed considered, We pray you Thomas Yonge, to enfourme the lorde Chamberleyne, so that by his meanys the kingys highnesse herof may haue redy knowlege, yf neede bee. ffor asmoche as hit liked his hyghnesse late to sende his lre of pryvey seale, directed to William Canyngis, Richard Albeton, & hary Maye, & to eu'y of theyme, streytely comaunding theyme by the same to deliu'e al the said stuff to John Wayneflete, Esquier, the kyng being not enfourmed of the dispending & delyu'e therof, as it is to suppose as ys aforesaid, whiche pryvey seale ye haue in your owen govern'nce."

In the party contests that prevailed during the latter part of the reign of Henry VI., and the beginning of that of Edward IV., and the consequent unsettled state of public affairs, it must have been a difficult matter for the various municipal authorities to determine the best course to pursue; and the changes in the supreme authority were so sudden and contrary to general expectation, as to baffle all

foresight and circumspection in this respect. Bristol was certainly in this dilemma on more occasions than one. When the public dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Government in 1449 and 1450 assumed a formidable appearance, and the Kentish men took up arms under their leader Jack Cade, the authorities of Bristol remained firm to the interests of the King. Indeed it was but shortly preceding that Henry had visited Bristol, where our annals state he was royally entertained; and in 1450, in consequence no doubt of the rebellion in Kent, William Canynges, who was then mayor, ordered a sum of money to be expended in repairing and fortifying the town walls. The corporation must at that time have been in straitened circumstances, for the money which was expended in entertaining the King, and applied to other public objects which were deemed expedient, was forcibly taken from the Fraternity of Kalendars. The purposes to which it was applied are thus recorded in the Archives of the Corporation.

These ben the deliu'aunces of Nicholas Hille, Richard Hatt', Philip Meed, and Thomas Rogers, kepers of the keyes of Barstaples cofre, with Inne the Chapell of Saint George, in the Yeldhalle, bi comaundemts of Richard Forster, Maire, and the co'ne councell of the same, Anno xxv^to^ henrici sexti, John Burton, Maire, and ye co'ne councell, Anno xxvij° h. sexti, and William Canynges, Maire, and the co'ne councell, Anno xxviij° h. vi^ti^, of the money sumtyme of the Vicarie of Allehalwyn.

ex Dono	In pmis to oure soueraine lord kyng the time of Richard anno xxv^to^ henr sexti in money	xx*li.*
	It' for an hors to oure saide soueraine lorde . . .	vj*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
It' sende to London to the Recorder and John Sherp the young' to be disposed in the parliament for the welfare of the towne the tyme of John Burton, Anno xxvij°		xx*li.*
It' for the mat' of Tynby and other necessaries sende to the saide Recorder and John Sherp to london . . .		v*li.*

It' for repa'cion of the Wallis of Bristoll deliu'ded to Nicholas hille and to John Stanlegh bi comaundment of William Canynges, Maire. And all the co'ne councell Anno xxviij° henrici sexti . xv*li.*

Sm to[1] C Marcs.

The following memorandum also occurs relative to the last item in the deliverances I have just read:—

Mem'dum that the 10th June 28th Hen. 6. Will^m^ Canynges Mayor of Bristow with the Sheriff and Common Council ordered certain sums of the common money to be expended in the amendyng of the Walles of the same towne and other fortefieng,. They also ordered £40 for the purchase of "certyn gonnes and other stuffe necessarie for defence of the said town," as follows—"In primis xx botefull of Warpestones. Itm alle the Salt petre that may be founde in this town. Itm a dos' brasyn gonnes to be made Shetyng pelett^s^ as grete as a parys balle or lesse and eu'y gonne with iiij Chambres."

Mr. Dallaway, in *The Life and Times of William Canynges*, observes—"there is a patent, dated 1450, granted exclusively to him, in contravention to an existing Act of Parliament, to load certain vessels of any burthen with lawful merchandise to Iceland and Finland for fish, during two years, excepting the merchandise of the staple of Calais; and in the preamble it specifically states that the King (Henry 6th) was under obligation to him for great personal service. This circumstance makes it evident that he was not then a partisan of the Duke of York."

Circumstances, however, had soon afterwards occurred which induced the Magistrates of Bristol to sue to the King for a public pardon. And accordingly a Royal Grant was obtained, dated the 23rd May, 1452, exempting the Mayor, Sheriff, and Commonalty of Bristol from the consequences of all rebellions, felonies, transgressions, contempts, forfeitures, and other offences committed by them previous to the date of the said Grant.

We find, notwithstanding, from the document I first read, that on a subsequent occasion of Canynges having the governance of the town he swerved from his allegiance to the reigning Monarch, and adopted public measures in

support of the claims of the Duke of York. No date is assigned to either of the transactions referred to in the document which has induced these remarks, and the time of their occurrence can only be inferred from the circumstances related. I infer then that the manifestation of Canynges' adherence to the Duke of York, by the seizure of the gunpowder, was previous to, but probably only shortly before the battle of St. Alban's, in 1455, when the Duke of Somerset was slain, and James, Earl of Wiltshire, deserted the King. Our annals, under that date, also allude, though ambiguously, to a suit instituted by certain Irishmen, "among whom one Henry May was chief speaker and labourer against the Mayor." Mr. Seyer, in noticing this circumstance, remarks—"What was the nature of this dispute is uncertain, for no mention is made of it elsewhere."

Next come the commissions from the Duke of York to the Corporation, to take upon themselves the government of the King's Castle of Bristowe. The authority assumed by this act points to the period of the Duke's Protectorate, and probably followed hard thereupon. The subsequent like commandment was most likely sent by Edward when Earl of Marche.

The army of ships sent by Bristol against the Earl of Pembroke I presume to have been raised just previous to the battle of Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, on the 2nd February, 1460-1. Of the part taken by Bristol on this occasion, no notice whatever occurs in any of our annals or histories.

Finally came the command of Edward, after he had assumed the crown, to purvey for a new army to be sent into Wales, against his coming to Bristol. The King arrived here in Sept., 1461, when he caused Sir Baldwin Fulford to be beheaded. This event has been commemorated by Chatterton, in his Bristowe Tragedy. "The memory of Sir Baldwin Fulford," says Mr. Seyer, "has been snatched from that common grave of oblivion, wherein sleep the names of so many thousand heroes who died in the fatal war between the houses of York and Lancaster, and has been immortalized by the well-known poem, entitled *The Execution of Sir Charles Bawdin*. Whether written by Rowley or by Chatterton, it is completely

Bristowan, and has so much poetical merit that our city may well be proud of it."

Our document proves that after the King was at Bristol, the second army for which purveyance was made was sent into Wales. Did the King command in that expedition? It would seem that the object of his coming to Bristol was in reference to this army, but nothing respecting it occurs in any of our histories.

I may add, in conclusion, that in the 22nd year of Edward IV. the Mayor and Common Council of Bristol granted a yearly fee or pension of forty shillings to Olyver King, the King's Secretary, whilst he continued in the office of Secretary, and which, doubtless, was also "for the welfare of the town."

THE ST. NICHOLAS OF THE TOWER.

BY W. TYSON, F.S.A.

I AM desirous of submitting to the members of the Institute a few remarks respecting a Bristol ship of considerable notoriety in the fifteenth century, called the Nicholas of the Tower. This vessel is mentioned by most of our chroniclers, and will ever be memorable in the annals of England from having been the means, in the time of Henry VI., of gratifying the popular animosity against the Duke of Suffolk, by the premature and illegal sacrifice of his life. The event is best related in the Paston Letters. A correspondent of John Paston, in 1450, says:—

"On Monday next after May-day (4th May), there came tidings to London that on Thursday before (30th of April) the Duke of Suffolk came into the coasts of Kent full near Dover, with his two ships and a little spinner, the which spinner he sent with certain letters, by certain of his trusted men, unto Calais ward, to know how he should be received; and with him met a ship called Nicholas of the Tower, with other ships waiting on him, and by them that were in the spinner the Master of the Nicholas had knowledge of the duke's coming.

"When he espied the duke's ships he sent forth his boat to wete what they were, and the duke himself spoke to them, and said he was, by the king's commandment, sent to Calais ward, &c., and they said he must speak with their master; and so he, with two or three of his men, went forth with them in their boat to the Nicholas, and when he came, the master bade him welcome, Traitor, as men say.

"And further, the master desired to wete if the shipmen would hold with the duke, and they sent word they would

not in no wise; and so he was in the Nicholas till Saturday. (2nd May) next following.

"Some say he wrote much thing to be delivered to the king, but that is not verily known.

"He had his confessor with him, &c., and some say he was arraigned in the ship on their manner upon the impeachment, and found guilty, &c.

"Also he asked the name of the ship, and when he knew it he remembered Stacy that said, if he might escape the danger of the Tower, he should be safe, and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived.

"And in the sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat, and there was an axe and a stock, and one of the lewdest* of the ship bade him lay down his head and he should be fairly fought with and die on a sword, and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half-a-dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his body on the sands of Dover; and some say his head was set on a pole by it, and his men sit on the land by great circumstance† and pray."

Hall the chronicler, in narrating the circumstance, says the duke "was encountered with a shippe of warre, apperteining to the Duke of Excester, the constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Towre." Neither Grafton nor Fabyan say anything about the ship belonging to the constable of the Tower; but Hall, who added that statement from having no idea that any other tower was intended by the adjunct to the ship's name than that of London, has had abundance of copiers who generally repeat the statement that the ship belonged to the constable of the Tower.

The object of these remarks is not only to claim the St. Nicholas of the Tower as a Bristol ship, but also to prove that her appropriation to the Tower of London is altogether erroneous.

It is well known that it was at least a considerable time subsequent to the death of the Duke of Suffolk before England possessed a royal navy. At the period of which I am treating, the ships composing her national fleets were partly hired from foreigners, and partly supplied by her

* Namely, the meanest. † Qu., by great numbers?

own merchants; among the latter there were but few vessels of a large size; indeed in general they were but single masted. In the year 1442 an ordinance was passed by the parliament for the maintenance of a navy, to keep the sea from Candlemas to Martinmas, for the defence of the kingdom. The fleet was to consist of eight large ships, which were to be attended by various other vessels of an inferior description. The Commons also point out where the large ships were to be had. In the first place they name, doubtless as being the principal and most important of the whole, "The Nicholas of the Tower, at Bristol." Here is a decided recognition of this vessel as a Bristol ship. The second ship named by the Commons is "The Katherine of the Burtows, at Dartmouth." I am quoting from Bree's "Cursory Sketch of the Naval, Military, and Civil Establishments, &c., of this Kingdom," collected from MSS. in the British Museum; and I infer that, with respect to the ship Katherine, Bree has inaccurately transcribed the original MS. The name Burtows, I have no doubt, should be Burton's; and Dartmouth, as the place from whence she was to be had, is, I conceive, an erroneous transposition, and refers to the next vessel. Indeed, Bree subsequently states that the Katherine, at this very time, was a Bristol ship. To show the carelessness that often occurs in the transcription of names, I may mention that Barrett, the historian of Bristol, in reference to these vessels, has inserted the name of Boston instead of Burton. The statement in the ordinance referred to should, I consider, have been read thus:—The Nicholas of the Tower, and the Katherine of Burton, at Bristol.*

I will now proceed to show that the Nicholas of the Tower belonged, not to the constable of the Tower of London, as has been hitherto supposed, but to John Burton, a merchant of Bristol. Among the many objects of interest of which our venerable topographer William Wyrcestre has preserved the remembrance, he has minutely

* In a letter addressed by an antiquary of note to the Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1851, p. 518, the true reading of the passage is stated, and proves to be in accordance with Mr. Tyson's conjecture. The reading is as follows: "Item, it is to be remembered where the said shippes shalle be hadde—First, at Bristowe, the Nicholas of the Toure and Katerine of Burtons." Harl. MS. No. 16. The writer, however, controverts the theory asserted by Mr. Tyson that the Nicholas was a Bristol ship; and his arguments deserve attention.—(Ed.)

traced the course of the outer or extended wall of defence by which the town was surrounded, and which, in the fifteenth century, was in a perfect state. The wall was intersected at certain distances with turrets and towers, and some of the latter were of considerable dimensions. After it had skirted the Marsh, as the large space of ground on which Queen-square stands was then called, and passed Marsh-street Gate, it reached the then limit, westward, of the Quay fronting the river Frome, now called the Broad Quay, where, making a right angle, it proceeded in a north-eastern direction towards the head of the Quay. At this angle was one of the large towers before alluded to; and a portion of the Quay in the immediate vicinity of that tower was the place where Bristol ships of that period were built. It is thus noticed by William Wyrcestre:—"The continuation of the town wall from the Marsh passed through the place where ships are built, and where lie trees and masts of fir, with anchors and stores; and, in a great space below the said wall, as far as to the first angle of the Quay of Bristol, on the west side of the Quay, large ships lie in the mud." And in another place he speaks of the way commencing from Marsh Gate to the chief part of the Quay, at the Round Tower, where Burton's ship was built. And again, speaking of the towers along the wall, he says there was another tower at the beginning (of the great Quay), where John Burton's ship was built.

Now, William Wyrcestre certainly does not name the Nicholas of the Tower as Burton's ship; but from the manner in which he refers to Burton's ship, it is evident that it was one of considerable notoriety. It has been already remarked that the vessels of that period were generally of an inferior description; but the Nicholas of the Tower is described as "a great ship with forestages, and carrying 150 men." In both the instances I have quoted from William Wyrcestre it may certainly be inferred that the ship to which he refers as Burton's ship was one of such well-known consequence and celebrity as to need no other description; and this notion of the importance of Burton's ship entirely assimilates with that entertained by the Commons of England.

From what I have now adduced, it will probably be considered that the following points are established, viz., that

the Nicholas of the Tower and the Katherine, two of the most important vessels in the English fleet of 1442, were Bristol ships; and that they belonged to John Burton, a merchant of Bristol. Both these positions are adopted by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, a learned writer on the history of Bristol. What I consider as peculiar to myself, and I hope I have succeeded in satisfying my hearers on this point, is that the adjunct "of the Tower" to the name of the St. Nicholas had no reference to the Tower of London, as our chroniclers supposed, but alluded to one of the principal towers on the wall of defence with which Bristol was then surrounded, and which tower was in the immediate vicinity of that portion of the Quay appropriated to the purposes of ship building. If I have succeeded in establishing this point, "the Towers of Julius," with all their momentous associations, may well accord to Bristol the modicum of fame appertaining to the possession of the most important, as well as the most memorable ship of her time, the St. Nicholas of the Tower.

ON BRITISH AND ROMAN REMAINS;

ILLUSTRATING COMMUNICATIONS WITH VENTA SILURUM, ANTIENT PASSAGES OF THE BRISTOL CHANNEL, AND ANTONINE'S ITER XIV.

BY GEORGE ORMEROD, D.C.L., F.R.S.

The object of the following Memoir differs materially from the point of discussion in numerous Essays which have treated previously of the Roman passages of the estuary of the Severn. In former Essays, the compositions of eminent antiquaries from the sixteenth century to the present, ingenuity has been exhausted in attempting to reduce irreconcileable lines of way between Aquæ Sulis or Bath and Venta Silurum or Caerwent to agreement with the Roman military way laid down in Antonine's Itinerary, or with its variations in the compilation ascribed by Bertram to Richard of Cirencester; but all, except Seyer, were deficient in local knowledge as to the Severn itself. Its shoals and currents have been overlooked, and lines of transit drawn conjecturally, as if the estuary were a still pool.

In addition, however, to the particular difficulties from the violent rapids and rocky bed of this wild river, it is uncertain to what extent its passages are included in the measures given in the Itinerary, whether the two Stations of Antonine are to be transposed or otherwise; and, in fact, whether any dependence can be placed on the numerals at all.

In the following Memoir, with the exception of one Section, no adaptation of camps, *as Stations*, to the uncertain measures has been attempted. In the other parts of it they are noticed as camps only, and the collections respecting probable lines of passage have been combined with notes of miscellaneous antiquities in the districts adjacent, as well for the illustration of the supposed Military Way it-

self as of other ancient ways bearing from the E. and N.E. on the same point of Caerwent.*

I.—VENTA SILURUM OR CAERWENT.

A short notice of Caerwent, the Venta Silurum of Antonine's Itinerary, and of its port, the Ostia Taroci and Aber Taroc of the Liber Landavensis, must be prefixed; but for particular notices of this place reference may be made to the accounts in Coxe's Monmouthshire and Seyer's Bristol, which supersede the inaccurate and defective ones in the early volumes of the Archæologia, and Mr. Roach Smith's recent survey † may also be read with advantage.

The Remains of Caerwent are situated nearly three miles N.W. of the point where the Troggy (locally called the Nedern in this concluding part of its course) falls into the Bristol Channel. Its position is in a rich plain surrounded with hills or minor elevations on all sides, bounded by a limestone ridge to the south, another towards Crick on the east with greater elevations beyond it, the Shire Newton hills on the north, and the ranges of Penhow and Wentwood towards the west. Approaches through the defiles of these hills were protected by British fortresses. The camp on Hardwick Cliffs guarded the Wye below Strigul or Chepstow; another camp, south of Penhow, and a third, Castell Prin, north of it, protected each side of the pass towards Caerleon. Sudbrook camp, which seems of British origin, although of Roman adoption, covered the inlets of the Troggy and of the Murig, between which streams it projects into the Severn; and other British works near Llanmelin appear on an eminence above the gorge of the Troggy, where it emerges from the hills on the north.

On the site of Caerwent itself, however, no remains whatsoever of any previous British works are traceable; and its position, in an open plain on the bank of a stream, is as contrary to British principles of fortification as it is characteristic of the Roman system.

Its existing walls are still magnificent and beautiful in

* The statements have reference to the Ordnance Map, a portion of which adapted to the localities here described, or the greater part of them, is given in Archæologia, Vol. XXIX.

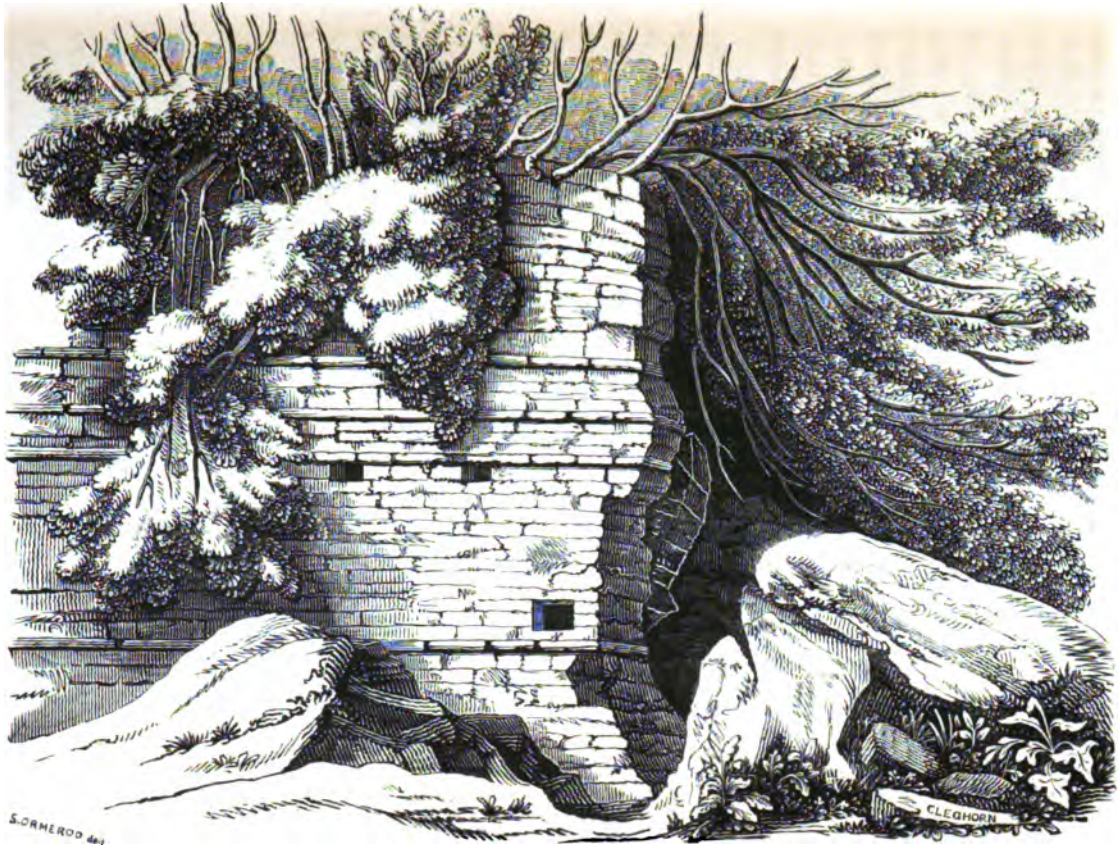
† Proceedings of the Archæological Association, Vol. IV. p. 246; see also Remarks on Porchester Castle, (Congress of the Archæol. Institute at Winchester), p. 19.

their ruins. The original fosse is still clearly shown on the western and northern sides; but the most perfect part of the ramparts is on the south side, where the annexed engraving shows the loftiest part, about twenty-five feet in height, near the S.E. angle. There are no vestiges of the former central gateway (one of the four mentioned by Leland) on this side, but in it are still observable the three bastions which are later additions; and here also are bonding courses, formed of red sandstone once imitative of brick, but all the courses are now equally grey with lichens. In this front also mooring rings for vessels are stated to have been fixed, for convenience of vessels in a supposed basin or canal on the site of the Troggy or Nedern below.

No vestiges of such rings are known to have existed, and an examination throws equal doubts on the correctness of the tradition as to a former canal or basin.

The Troggy or Nedern, which is generally dry in summer, has a course S.E. after emerging from the gorge already mentioned, and then flows eastwards in a line which is about two hundred yards south of the south wall of Caerwent, and parallel with it. The banks here show a section of apparently undisturbed "*till*," consisting of red and grey beds of sandy loam, with rolled pebbles at their lower part; and, at the side of the highway leading from Caldecot bridge to the eastern gate of Caerwent, these beds are conformably overlaid by gravel, which can be traced onwards under the town itself. The total depth of these beds is small, as is shown by the wells. No traces whatsoever of any canal remain, and from the height of Caerwent above the sea level it is scarcely possible that such canal could have existed in the Roman period. If such had been made, the deep cuttings, which would have been required in such case, would have remained, and none can be found.

After passing Caerwent, the Nedern (as the Troggy is here popularly called) takes a S.E. direction, for about a mile and half, until it reaches Balan Moor, within the hamlet of Crick, where it turns southwards, and passes through the present marsh, once, traditionally and most probably, a marshlike lake, nearly surrounding Caldecot Castle, and obviously a great addition to its former strength. It proceeds next between the castle mound and the slope from the foot of Stow Ball Hill towards its left bank, passes the



SOUTH SIDE OF THE ROMAN WALL OF CAERWENT.

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remarkable rounded Mount of sandstone, "Deep Weir Tump," on its right, and then shoots forwards into Caldecot Pill, an Inlet of the Bristol Channel.

Mr. Leman, as hereafter mentioned, fixed the probable Roman landing place at this Mount; but the combined waters of the former marsh and inlet would spread higher, and are considered to have given the name of "the Creek"* to the hamlet of Crick on their bank, although the lower part of the inlet alone would constitute that navigable creek or inlet, which was the port of Caerwent in earlier days, and still continues to be such, but in much diminished importance.

In the Roman period Caerwent would be the guardian of this petty Port or Inlet, and during the renewed British occupation which followed, its importance continued. Mr. Rees, the learned editor of the collection of Charters constituting the Liber Landavensis, supposes Caerwent to have been intended under the designation of the "City of Gwent," in which that work states a synod to have been held in the tenth century. Another Charter in the same collection, and in more immediate connection with the present subject, includes in its grants free approach for ships "in Ostio Taroci," which locality would indisputably be Caldecot Pill.†

* The word is written Cricke in the Wentwood Claims of 1270, and Crikke in the Valor. Eccl. of Hen. VIII., but as "*the Creek*" in the Iter Carolinum. (Collectanea Curiosa, Vol. II. p. 443.) In this sense it has as fair a derivation from the Norman "Crike" a Creek, as *Crick* Howel, in a different one, has from the British word for Crag or Rock. From its connection with this passage of the Severn a few words may be added with reference to this mention of "the Creek" on the occasion of King Charles's visit to Mr. Moore there, July 24, 1645, with an *intention* to cross for Bristol at the Blackrock, which he afterwards abandoned. This unfulfilled intention has led to many whimsical errors. Coxe (Monmouthshire Tour, p. 2,) gives a story (from depositions) of *Oliver's* soldiers (meaning those of the *Parliament*) having pursued Charles (of course under misapprehension as to his real route), and of their being landed by the boatmen, and drowned by the returning tide on the English stones, *not* on Charson Rock. Local tradition, however, connects this with Charson Rock, and sometimes calls it Charley's stone, as if in reference to this story; but Saxton's maps gave the name of *Charston* to the rock, in the time of Elizabeth, and William of Worcester in the fifteenth century.

† See Liber Landavensis, p. 210, for this mention of "Gwentonia Urbs," and p. 226 for "Aper Taroci" and "Ostium Taroci," and Mr. Rees's notes, pp. 477, 497. This work is supposed to have been completed (as a compilation) in 1132, by Geoffry, brother of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff (pp. ix, x), and such compiler would be a competent judge of the historical credibility of statements regarding the tenth century. No argument is raised here with respect to earlier resort to the "Aber Taroc" from the alleged charters themselves, or from British legends, as the citation above only regards proof of the continued use of the Inlet subsequent to Roman occupation. For the tradition respecting it, preserved in the Triads, see Cambrian Biography by Owen, p. 53.

The final ruin of Caerwent seems to have followed the Norman Conquest, and its traffic and military consequence to have been transferred to Chepstow, which agrees with Leland's opinion.* The Saxon name "*Chepstow*" indeed points to earlier traffic there; but it was in the time of the Conqueror that the erection of the Castle of Strigul adjacent to that town superseded the military importance of Caerwent. Subsequently the feudal tenants of the Lord Marcher of Strigul erected their dependent fortalices on the Welsh side of his domain,† and Newport, Caerleon, Usk, and St. Briavel's formed an outer line of defence; but in this new arrangement Caerwent was not included. It became a dependency of the lordship of Wentloog, possessed by the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, and afterwards by the Audleys,‡ and has not subsequently occurred as a fortress, the name of Cas Gwent, equivalent to its own military designation, being given by the Welsh to Chepstow, its successor.§

The Norman tower of Caldecot, however, took the place of Caerwent, as the more immediate protector of the petty

* Itinerary, Vol. V. p. 6.

† It may be interesting, although a digression, to state that these Fortalices of the Knights of Strigul, which formed part of the defence of the Norman Marchership, were PENCOED, PENHOW or ST. MAUR (the cradle of the Seymours), LANVAIR, DINHAM, CRIKKE, MATHERNE (afterwards MOYN'S COURT), and HODETON now ITTON, all of which rose on lands held by military service before the close of the twelfth century, though successive devastations have left little that is Norman visible in their existing remains.

At MOYN'S COURT, (so called from the marriage of Thomas de Moigne with the relict of its feudal lord, the Baron Thomas de Knovill, recorded in Inq. p. m. 36 Edw. III., and not from monastic connection, as Coxe supposed,) the military works are conspicuous behind the mansion (see Ordnance Map), on a tongue of land, strengthened by the marshes of the Murig which separate it from St. Pierre. The ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS, removed by Bishop Godwin to this place from Caerleon, have recently been restored to their original locality by the present owner of St. Pierre, where they intermediately rested.

This venerable mansion of ST. PIERRE is surrounded by extensive acquisitions of its antient owners, but belongs to a class of mansions distinct from that of the fortalices above-mentioned. On the attainder of Sir John Mynstreworth of Mynstreworth, (an owner unknown to Coxe and to the controversalists on the subject of the sepulchral memorials of the St. Pierres here), an inquisition then taken describes it as being, in 47 Edw. III., only a messuage with two carucates. At all events, as a detached outlier of Caerleon Marchership, it could not have been a military outpost of Strigul, the dependencies of which still encircle, but do not include it.

The Tower of TROGGY in Wentwood (which Camden has confounded with Strigul itself) is also omitted in the list above, as being of later date. This was stated conjecturally in a former memoir by the writer (Archæol. 29, p. 30), and has been since ascertained from the Inq. after the death of Earl Roger Bigod, 35 Edw. I., which describes it, as "Turris apud Torrogy *de novo* constitutus.

‡ Willis' Llandaff, p. 163; Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 751.

§ H. Lwyd, in his Commentariolum, calls Chepstow "celebre emporium et nunc Castell Gwent dictum," adding in a note, "hodie Cas Gwent contracte." Chepstow, the Saxon equivalent for emporium, continued to be the English name.

Port adjacent and of its traffic, and became the commencement of that noble pile which displays its ruins near the Inlet now only visited by a few coal sloops.

After thus endeavouring to illustrate the locality which, in its better days, would be a principal entrance into "BRITANNIA SECUNDA," it remains to advert to the principal lines of Roman communication passing from the eastwards and north-eastwards towards Caerwent.

II.—PORTWAY FROM CALDECOT TO CAERWENT, DEEMED BY LEMAN, HATCHER, AND OTHERS TO HAVE BEEN THE ROMAN MILITARY WAY DESCRIBED IN ANTONINE'S ITER XIV.

Between Bath or, AQUÆ SULIS, and Caerwent, or VENTA SILURUM, Antonine's Itinerary, as is well known to antiquaries, places *two* stations, TRAJECTUS and ABONE, and Gale suggested the transposition of them. They are so transposed in the Compilation published by Bertram as that of Richard of Cirencester, with the addition of a *third* intermediate station, "AD SABRINAM."*

This Section only bears on the complicated disputes arising from this Iter, in necessarily mentioning various military works of which some must be coincident with the Stations of the Itinerary, and which by position indicate the lines of communication with the Severn, the probable places of transit, and the points of landing on the western or right bank of the estuary. As to the long dispute with respect to reconcilement of such facts with the measures of the Itinerary, there are about *twenty theories:* Camden, Burton, Baxter, Gale, Atkins, and Rudder cross *above* Aust or the Old Passage; Reynolds is confused and locally ignorant; Baker leans to Oldbury; and Horseley conjectures an oblique passage which would necessarily bear from Aust, or the Pill below it, on a point *below* the Wyemouth. Of the rest, Stukeley and Lysons support a passage from Aust, as Seyer† does with respect to the line of Richard's Itinerary; but he makes the close of Richard's line to Aust an excrescense from that of Antonine, which he ends at Seamills on the Avon, placing Abone there.

The last to be noticed are those who travel to the mouth

* Gale's Antonine, p. 131; Bertram's Tres Scriptores, p. 39.

† Compare Seyer's Table in Vol. I. p. 130, and § 38, in p. 142.

of the Avon, in search of Antonine's ABONE, of whom Barritt, the historian of Bristol, doubts between Seamills and Portishead.* Coxe and Leman come to Seamills on the north bank of the Avon, near its mouth, followed by Hatcher, Hoare, Seyer, and Phelps. In the greatest part of this line from Bath to Seamills there has been a tacit acquiescence by many for half a century, but still it is only *a conjectural line*, so far as it regards its continuation beyond Bitton and St. George's to Durdham Down, *which is west of Bristol*, Seyer objecting to Coxe's appropriation of the Fosse road from Bath to North Stoke in its supposed commencement,† and to any point of embarkation in the marsh with respect to the close. At Durdham Down, indeed,‡ a stoned way is found leading to Seamills an undisputed Roman camp guarding the mouth of the Avon; but after this Coxe's line from thence over the marshes to Madam's Pill on the Severn, N. W. of King's Weston, is disputed; and if Seyer's passage from Seamills by the Avon is substituted,§ an additional tide makes difficulties anew. Finally, however, Barritt, Coxe, Leman, Hatcher, and Hoare expressly, and Seyer by implication, with respect to Antonine's Iter,‖ make Caldecot Pill the point for landing on the western bank of the Estuary.

It has been the opinion of numerous Pilots, whom the writer has had opportunities of consulting, that a passage from Madam's Pill to Caldecot could only take place once in each tide, and that from its exposure stormy weather would render it impracticable; and that a passage from Seamills, by the Avon, would have great additional difficulties from meeting another tide, as before-mentioned.

But *assuming* that the VIA JULIA did *really* proceed by Coxe's line to Seamills, and that the subsequent transit over the channel took place from *either of these last-mentioned points*, there can be little doubt of Caldecot Pill having been the port made for, either with reference to its own convenience or the desirableness of avoiding the marshes below, or an unnecessary circuit above it; such

* Hist. of Bristol, Vol. I. p. 26.

† Seyer's Bristol, Vol. I. p. 149, and p. 138.

‡ Ibid. p. 150, and Coxe, p. *14.

§ Ibid. p. 142.

‖ "It appears to me, that at the time when this Itinerary was compiled a common route between Caerwent and Abona was by a passage-boat direct." Seyer, I. 142. This must be through Caldecot Pill, as a boat from Caerwent could not pass into the Severn otherwise.

unnecessary circuit also (if made) rendering it requisite to encounter "the Shoots," the "*periculosissimum passagium*" of William of Worcester, and the "*succession of violent cataracts*" described by Telford,* in his Report, from which an extract is given hereafter.

And be this complication of doubts and difficulties fatal to Coxe's theory as to the transit to Caldecot, as a part of Antonine's Fourteenth Iter, or otherwise, still (what it is the object of the present memoir to trace) this inlet of the Nedern or Troggy at Caldecot would be the PORT OF CAERWENT for general purposes of vessels ascending the estuary from other quarters; and the indications of ancient road connecting this little PORT with VENTA SILURUM are the next point.

In his Monmouthshire Tour,† Mr. Coxe conjectured that the JULIA STRATA, recommencing at Caldecot Pill, proceeded thence to a natural elevation of rock (Deep Weir Tump near Caldecot Bridge), and after disappearing in the village re-occurred between Caldecot Church and Castle, and proceeded over the natural rock to some limekilns where he lost it, and supposed a causeway leading from the north bank of the Nedern to Caerwent to have been its continuation.

Mr. Leman's better theory is given in the same note, placing the *landing point* at this tumulus or "Tump," which is *negatively* confirmed by no vestiges of any ancient road having occurred between the Severn and it or other parts of Caldecot village in the recent cuttings of the South Wales Railway. Coxe's theory also overlooked the probable former state of the marsh between this Tump and his supposed continuation of way between the Church and Castle, and he seems not to have known that if he had followed the present line of road from the Tump to the village cross, and advanced straight forwards, from the point where the road to the Church turns off at a right angle, he would have come on a direct *paved* way.

This last-mentioned paved line, from which the hauling way (now used and noted in the Ordnance Map) immediately separates, proceeds straight forwards, and is formed of squared stones laid over the natural sandstone. It enters Caldecot common field and is soon lost under several

* See note in p. 48.

† Vol. I. p. *17.

feet of accumulated soil, but re-emerges, and is subsequently rejoined by the modern hauling way from the left, and proceeding in a bold curve towards Caerwent is again lost in a hollow cutting. The ridge of limestone rock previously mentioned is cut through by extensive ancient quarries in front of it; and if the walls of Caerwent were excavated from these (as is very likely), it probably proceeded through them; if otherwise, it would join the road from Dewstow on its left. In either case, its further course, after crossing the Nedern adjacent, would proceed by Coxe's causeway towards Caerwent.

III.—THE PASSAGES OF THE SEVERN FROM AUST AND OTHER POINTS, AND ANCIENT WAYS BEARING TOWARD AND FROM AUST.

With respect to the "NEW PASSAGE" below Aust, considered as a possible *Roman place of passage*, Seyer's remarks on the ancient marsh which must have been crossed towards it, and Telford's Report with respect to the difficulties of the passage itself render further observation unnecessary.*

With respect to OLDBURY, or rather the Pill adjacent, which was the favourite point of the older commentators on Antonine, there can be no doubt that in early ages much occasional crossing took place thence to opposite landing places in Sedbury, at Pill House and at Horse Pill in Stroat near Tidenham, and at Alvington, as is still the case. From all these points ancient hollow ways, continuations of lines of traffic, still stretch from Severn to Wye across the Forest peninsula. A passage from Oldbury to the point where the Dyke ascribed to Offa terminates on the Sedbury Cliffs, described as being of the remotest antiquity by

* SEYER (Bristol, Vol. I. cap. ii. § 33) mentions as an insuperable reason against any Ferry *here* in the Roman period, that the marsh country, through which it is necessary to travel for two miles before arriving at the New Passage, could not be regularly passable at that period, and would still be overflowed, almost every spring-tide, but for the protection of a vast sea-wall. TELFORD (in his examination on the subject of S. Wales roads in 1823, Parl. Reports, 278 H. p. 21,) states thus with reference to the New Passage—"It appears to be one of the most forbidding places at which an important Ferry was ever established. It is in truth a succession of violent cataracts formed in a rocky channel, exposed to the rapid rush of a tide which has scarcely an equal upon any other coast." He further mentions the tide rising 46 feet under his assistant's observation, and sometimes 3 feet higher; and that the velocity was at the rate of seven miles per hour, with encumbrances of rocks, and full exposure to the violence of the prevailing S. W. winds.

Seyer,* and by the pilots as "the oldest passage on the Severn," has been noticed at length by the writer in Archæologia, Vol. XXIX. p. 10. It has been considered, with great probability, besides its local and minor accommodations, to have had communication with the ancient trackways terminating at Oldbury; but it is unconnected with the present question beyond marking its departure from Oldbury, and its direction to junction with Leman's continuation of (his branch of) the Akeman Street on the western bank of the Severn within Sedbury.†

Greater attention is required by the well-known position south of Oldbury, AUST, the *Trajectus Augusti* of Lysons's Map in his Woodchester, a derivation which might be changed to an allusion to Legio Augusta, so closely connected with this district, if it could be allowed; but the designation of this place as *Austreclive*, in Domesday, seems only to point to its position with respect to the Severn.‡

The undisputed Roman camp of ELBERTON,§ situated nearly three miles east of Aust, would give requisite protection to Aust, to the Ferry, and to the short pass over the Marsh to it. It is a paralellogram, with broad and lofty mounds, described at length by Seyer and also by Baker in his Essay on the Gloucestershire Camps of Ostorius printed in the Archæologia, but when visited by the author was covered with coppice wood which prevented close investigation. The name, formerly written Aylburton, like that of the township adjacent to Lydney Camp, may mean the "town of the old fortification."

Roman Remains are not known to have been found under its coppices, but Tumuli exist on Alveston down to the east of it, a tesselated pavement has been found at Stidcote in Titherington further to the eastwards, and another at Tockington Park mentioned hereafter. The

* Seyer's Bristol, Vol. I. p. 78.

† See Archæologia, Vol. XXIX. p. 11, and Map in Coxe's Monmouthshire. See also pp. 52 and 63 following.

‡ The position of Aust, anciently Austreclyve, is *south* of some of the minor channels of the Severn; but its most striking feature is that of an insulated mass of marl and lias rising from what is the *eastern* bank of the Estuary. A derivation from "Australis" would refer to a *southern* position, but in mediæval Latinity an *eastern* one would be indicated by the import of "*Austre*," as may be seen by referring to Adelung's Ducange under Austreleudi, Austria (Gallica), and Austrasia.

§ For description, see Seyer, Vol. I. p. 141, and Baker's Memoir in Archæologia, Vol. XIX.

intersections of ancient roads near it are very numerous, and as follows :—

The first line from Aquæ Sulis (which requires particular attention) is stated by Rudder* to pass in a straight direction through Abston and Wick towards Aust, and is considered by Seyer† to be that Fosse road, through North Stoke to Upton, which Coxe has incorporated with his Julian Way. Seyer further conjectures it to have passed through Mangotsfield by Berry Hill, and onwards through Almondsbury in the direction of Aust, and as being a line of British origin but Roman adoption.

The connection of the Romans with it is abundantly clear. A line drawn on the map from Bath to Elberton Camp near Aust will lead to Upton by Seyer's Fosse way. At Abston, Roman pottery, sacrificial instruments, coins, &c., identify a Roman position, as in Rudder, p. 211. In Mangotsfield the Camp of Berry Hill is shown to be of Roman occupation by coins.‡ Further on, at Tockington Park, Seyer records the tesselated pavement of an incompletely excavated villa, and the Ordnance Map marks the Port Hills. Seyer considers the line thence to Aust, through Olveston and Elberton, to have been nearly as at present.§

The *first* traditional trackway, thus partly traced and illustrated throughout by existing Roman remains, would fall in near this last point with a *second ancient Vicinal Way* tending westwards from Corinium, termed by Hatcher the Acman Street, and by Lysons the Ickenield Street, both of course meaning a branch only of the greater Streets of those names. It has been traced by Leman (with approval of Coxe and Hatcher) and by Lysons, from the vicinity of Cirencester, by Truesbury and Cherington and Kingscote, Leman doubting whether its further course tended to Oldbury or Aust from Symond's Hall, where perhaps branches divided. Lysons (Woodchester, p. 56, and map) brings on one line, conjecturally but after mature investigation, from Kingscote to Aust through Elberton.

To this same point of Aust Seyer‖ also brings conjec-

* Rudder, p. 211.

† Bristol, Vol. I. cap. ii., p. 149.

‡ In possession of the late Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, who had a sketch of the supposed line of way through this parish.

§ "The Marshes prevented a nearer communication, as they still do." Seyer, I., p. 72.

‖ Vol. I. pp. 130, 155.

turally, from Seamills, that part of the Julian Way described in the compilation attributed to Richard of Cirencester, which relates to the portion between his stations of ABONE and AD SABRINAM, supporting it by the numerous discoveries of coins, &c., in its route through Henbury. That route is described in a note following, and it may suffice to observe here that it would, at all events, connect Elberton with the Roman Camp and Port at Seamills, and also with the Ridgeway in its course by Milbury Heath from Gloucester to the Camps on the Avon near Bristol.

These lines combined in one by intersection to the east of Elberton would cross a strip of the alluvial marsh at its very narrowest part near an artificial mount called Barrow Hill and Red Hill, and so reach Aust. Waiving, for the present, all reference to the military line of the Itinerary, the reader will perhaps think it likely that, with reference to such concentration and local facilities for general purposes, Seyer may be right in concluding on it "*as a certainty*" that "the *usual* ferry in the Roman age, and for centuries after, was at AUST."*

WITH RESPECT to progress westward from Aust, two passages of the Severn are practicable:—

I. The present regular Ferry from thence to Beachley *above* or on the north-east of the Wyemouth;

II. An oblique Passage to Blackrock in Monmouthshire *below* or west of the Wyemouth, which is not a Ferry in the *legal sense*, and, not being such, is passed over with little attention in the Parliamentary inquiries.

I. The passage from Aust to Beachley.

In a memoir by the writer, printed in the Archæologia (Vol. XXIX. p. 8), William of Worcester is correctly quoted as stating the width of the Severn at this point to have been only "*jactus lapidis*," seemingly a sling's throw.† This

* Vol. I. p. 139.

† The precise words of William of Worcester are as follow:—"Charston Rok, distans inter Seynt Tyracle et Groghy Rok &c., &c., est ita magna rupis sicut *rupis Sancti Tiriaci, distans a firma terrâ de Austclyff per jactum lapidis.*" It is certain that the Estuary extended to the east of the Bench Rock, now in the middle of the channel of the Severn, for William himself mentions the covering of that rock with the tide being a guide to mariners, and this alone would confute his previous statement. William cites a mariner's dictation for it, and if he wrote down *Austclyff* instead of *Bettesleyh* in error, correction to this effect would leave points in the Wye as they are at present, and the width of the Severn itself unspecified.

A different measure of width is given by Leland (Itinerary, Vol. V. fol. 5), who

ancient statement is now contradicted by a more ancient one, that of Walter de Mapes, recently printed by the Camden Society, "Est autem Sabrina ibi habens *miliare in latum*."* This near agreement with present measure, after lapse of seven centuries, is an argument for implying little difference to have taken place since the Roman period.†

Reference may be made to the memoir cited for lines of road extending westwards and northwards from the landing place of this passage at Beachley, of which one would point on Tidenham Chase, identified hereafter as a place of Roman settlement, and would necessarily pass over it if continued onwards to Blestium or Monmouth. At its point of intersection with the Dyke, attributed to Offa (which crosses the Beachley peninsula and is probably raised on *earlier works*‡), it would also there intersect Leman's branch of

describes "the Fery from Auste to a village on the further Ripe," &c., as three miles. Perhaps he went up the Wye to Ewen's Rock, as was formerly customary. See Archæologia, Vol. XXIX. p. 11.

* Mapes, cap. xxiii. p. 99.

† In citing, as above, Walter de Mapes "de Nugis Curialium," for this width of "miliare in latum," we have the testimony of a writer once resident near it, as Rector of Westbury on Severn; but it is to be feared that his manuscript work (the only one known, and one edited with great care) is not as trustworthy as its author. The story from which this citation of width is taken relates to this very Ferry, and to a well-known anecdote of the meeting of Edward King of England with Prince Llewelyn there. Now of the *three* Llewelyns, the first and second were not contemporaries with English Edwards, and the third (Llewelyn ap Gryffydh), contemporary with our Edward I., lived in the century *after* that of Walter de Mapes. The ancient transcriber was possibly ignorant of this, and proves his corruption of the MS. by describing his Prince as "filius Griffini," who in Walter's time was unborn. The citation as to *width* might, however, in all likelihood escape similar vitiation. As to the legend itself, Camden calls the English king, Edward the elder, but *he* was contemporary with no Llewelyn. Walter de Mapes probably meant *Edmund* (Ironside), who *was* in Gloucestershire *in the time of Llewelyn I.* and may be the King intended.

‡ The supposition of *earlier works*, and of their adaptation to Saxon use, has been stated by Mr. Fosbroke, and also by Mr. Webb (Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. XCVII), and accords with the writer's opinion as expressed by him in a memoir printed in Archæologia, Vol. XXIX, p. 14. In this he traced the Tidenham Dyke, with a few intervals, for nearly six miles in devious course along the Wye, from Caswall near the edge of St. Briavel's parish to the Sedbury cliffs near the Wyemouth, which last is the point to which local tradition and the uniform voice of history bring the DYKE of OFFA. Referring to this former account, two confirmatory observations are added.

The FIRST is the result of a Tour along the accessible points of Offa's Dyke, in 1845, from Lynhales in Herefordshire to Mold in Flintshire, confirming the accordance of the Tidenham mounds with the more northerly line in form, character, and adaptation, meaning by the last the line of demarcation along the sides of hills, with avoidance of the flats and headlands by the sides of rivers, as for instance near Welshpool, where the line by the Severn follows the system observed in Tidenham near the Wye.

The SECOND is the publication of a SURVEY OF DYDDENHAMME, attached to king Edwy's grant of it to the seculars of Bath Abbey in 956, which gives absolute proof of the existence of the Dyke *here*, nearly *seven centuries* before Sir John Wyntour made those military alterations in a few hundred yards of its course, which Coxe's correspondent confounded with its original purposes. The particulars will be found in Kemble's invaluable Diplomata

the Akeman Street which runs parallel with the Dyke, and crossing the Wye between Chepstow and Hardwick Camp would proceed westwards to junction with other lines bearing on the common point of Caerwent.

In modern days legal restrictions, limiting the crossing from Aust to Beachley above the Wye, bind the traveller going westwards to a circuit by Chepstow Bridge; but in British and Roman days there can be no doubt but that he would have an option of crossing to a point *below* the Wye, and thus avoiding a circuit and the transit of two rivers.

II. The former use of such SECOND LINE OF TRANSIT from Aust to Blackrock accords with Horseley's* suggestion. Although interrupted in making observation, he states that the Military Way running eastward *from Caerwent* was "large and remarkable," and that it left the Highway (this would be at Crick) and inclined southwards towards the Severn; that he considered the Roman passage was *below* the Wyemouth, and the landing place not so high as Oldbury. In later days Seyer† has affirmed "the certainty" of such transit; some approximation to it has the approval of Telford.‡ The line specified would have had communication with a spacious inlet, St. Pierre Pill in the mouth of the Murig or Mounton Stream, greatly exceeding in capaciousness and power of accommodation anything afforded by the inlet at Caldecot; and it would avoid the entrance to the perils of the Shoots, as the passage to Caldecot Pill avoided

Anglo-Saxonum (Vol. II. p. 327; III. pp. 444, 450; IV. p. 171); but as Dyddenhamme is inadvertently transferred to Somersetshire in the Index, it may be proper to give the matter of these documents, more particularly as they are referred to in other parts of this memoir.

In Vol. III. p. 444. The boundaries of Dyddenhamme are traced from the Wyemouth to Twyfyrd's (now Wyver's) Pool, on an inlet of the Severn, which are the present extreme points of Tidenham, In p. 450, the survey itself specifies *Stræt*, *Lancawet*, *Biscopestone*, names of existing portions of the present manor, *Middeltune* seemingly coextensive with Wibdon and Churchend, which is bounded by the brook Middel, and *Cyngestune* which is identified with the present Sedbury by its permanent boundaries, the *Dyke*, the Wye, and the Severn. Next, "bufan Dic," beyond the *Dyke*, is named "*Utanhamme*," the outer hamlet, clearly identical with the outlying peninsula of Beachley, thus situated and separated at present, and described as partly in demesne and partly paying rent for accommodation to Shipping.

The DYKE itself is described as "Dic ðæt ir nu" (the Dyke that is now), and of course had existence previous to King Edwy's grant in 956, to which grant this contemporary survey refers.

* Britannia Romana, p. 469.

† Seyer, Vol. I. pp. 130, 139.

‡ Mr. Harris (Archæologia II., p. 2, 1763) conjectures the Roman Passage to have been in this line, viz. from Aust to Blackrock, not from any knowledge of the facilities of the currents, but with reference to the glaring inconvenience of a circuit by Chepstow. He appears, however, to have been grossly misinformed as to frequent occurrence of Roman Coins in the Severn mud at Charston.

the dangers of the rapids at their termination below. An opinion of experienced pilots on this subject is given in the note below.*

Here also, as at Caldecot, the landing would be protected by the great Camp of SUDBROOK† projecting into the estuary, and seemingly of British origin, notwithstanding the passage referring it to the Romans, which is inserted by Holland, on the authority of Bishop Godwin, in his translation of Camden's Britannia. The medal in honour of Severus, here found according to the Bishop's statement, marks Roman occupation; but his observations as to bricks and discoveries of coins are considered inaccurate.

The communication between BLACKROCK and CAERWENT is omitted by Seyer, who would see that the stream and marshes of the Nedern would prevent communication by Caldecot Portway, but somewhat unaccountably overlooked that existing line of road which Horseley conjectured to be the true one, the late route of the mail by Portescuet and Crick. It follows the firm ground, in nearly direct line where not diverted by hill, stream, or marsh, is confined almost necessarily by such obstacles to its existing and probably ancient line, and is skirted by undescribed relics of antiquity.

Proceeding from the present landing at Blackrock north-westwards, this road is first diverted to the south-west by the "Rough Grounds"‡ (marked in the Ordnance Map) in which is a Mount called HESTON BRAKE, raised artificially on the edge of a dingle, and having a seeming elevation very much increased by natural slopes towards the north-east. It has a flat summit, and commands a view of the Severn towards Aust, and is covered with a venerable shade of oaks and yew trees. In the centre of this summit is a space about twenty-seven feet long by nine in width, surrounded ori-

* The Passage here mentioned is well known to the writer from personal observation; but he adds, that in January, 1843, he had an opportunity of taking the opinions of some experienced local pilots collectively, and they agreed in stating "that a slanting passage would be good from Aust to the Little Pill above Blackrock, steering between the Wye currents and Dun Sands, and turning between Charston and the Ooze. That it might be effected five or perhaps six times in the day, would have less difficulty than any other from storms in winter, and would be the only Ferry (except that between Aust and Beachley) that could be counted on for constant communication."

† For a description of Sudbrook Camp, see Seyers I. cap. ii. § 31.

‡ On revisiting it in 1851, it was nearly inaccessible, from the growth of the coppices; but the taller of the two stones at the east end was seemingly between five and six feet. The rest was hid by coppice and briers.

ginally, as it seems, by thirteen rude upright stones, now time-worn, mossed over, and matted with ivy. One is at the east end, two at the west, and three remain at each side, with spaces for the four which have been removed. Unless it is a sepulchral memorial, connected with the massacre after-mentioned, no conjecture as to its object can be offered.

The road thus diverted proceeds westwards through Portescuet, the "Portascihth" of the Saxon Chronicle, which records it as the site of Harold's mansion in 1065, and the scene of the slaughter of his servants by Caradoc.* It extends to Caldecot Pill before-mentioned, and preserves in its British appellation ("Porth-ys-coed"), an allusion to the ancient Port or Ferry of this sylvan district; but whether it has further reference to Gwent-ys-coed itself must be left to the Cambrian antiquary. At this point the road returns to its previous direction, avoiding the marsh and stream towards Caldecot, and proceeds north-westwards along the base of Stow Ball Hill, a conspicuous elevation with Tumuli on its summit.

Further on, and on the left of the road, is another undescribed work at the point where the rivulet from Crick receives a small stream previous to its own junction with the Nedern in the marsh. It is marked in the Ordnance Map imperfectly and without designation,† but is called "The Berries" popularly, and in the old maps at St. Pierre. The enclosure is triangular, two converging sides being fenced by the streamlets, and the third or north-eastern side is curved outwards, and has in its centre a truncated Mount or tumulus, about twelve feet in height above the *natural surface*, thirty feet in diameter on its flat summit, and ninety at the base. Mounds on each side of this complete the enclosure, excepting that a fosse, *surrounding* the Mount and adding to its artificial height thereby, and continued *outside* the mounds, makes two broad openings between them, and shows that the enclosure was not for military purposes.

Hence the present road passes on to its junction with the line of the vicinal road from Gloucester to Caerwent, falling into it at Crick, where Horsley noticed the point of

* Saxon Chronicle, by Ingram, p. 252.

† Immediately north of the words, "Balan Moor." The space enclosed is about the third of an acre.

divergence before-mentioned, and to which, when Coxe visited it, the pavement from Caerwent extended; and in the next field on the right, after this junction, is a large flattened tumulus, probably placed there with reference to this divergence, and illustrating Hatcher's* observation as to Tumuli so placed being "direction-posts of antiquity"

It is now time to sum up what has been said of the continuous line of communication deduced to this point. If the line mentioned in p. 50, as one considered by Seyer to have run from Bath by North Stoke, Wick, Berry Hill, Alveston and Elberton to Aust, of which a continuation has been shown to be practicable over Severn by an oblique passage to Blackrock, and thence by an existing line of road through these British remains to Crick and Caerwent, be measured, the result will be as follows:—The exact continuous line of way, as in other cases, cannot be proved; but the entire length will be found to vary very little from Antonine's measure, and the stations of the Itinerary of Antonine or Richard might be adapted conjecturally, as in the other cases, by any one who wished it, to known camps. But it is not intended to advance any theory as to its identity with the military line of the Itineraries, although it is considered that there can be no doubt of a continuous British line having thus tended, and of later Roman occupation of points along it, and that every probability is in favour of its having been a line of long continuance as a vicinal line during the Roman period and after it, and of the Passage which forms part of it having been used when storms made the alleged lower line from Seamills to Caldecot undesirable or impracticable.

The continuation from Crick towards Caerwent and Caerleon is noticed in the next division, and a practicable combination of the *later* part of this Way with the *earlier* part of Leman's Via Julia, which, in the opinion of the writer, seems to approach nearer to what would be requisite for a Military Way of constant use than Leman's line by Seamills and Caldecot, is given in the following Section.

* Hatcher's Richard of Cirencester, p. 104.

IV.—REMARKS ON THE MILITARY LINE BETWEEN AQUÆ SULIS AND VENTA, AS GIVEN IN THE ITINERARIES.

A ROUTE BETWEEN THE STATIONS OF BATH AND CAERWENT, hitherto unnoticed, which combines portions of Leman's line and of the Trackway described in the last Section, accords with Antonine's numerals in two stages of the Itinerary, and is reconcileable to his general measure of ITER XIV. in the other, avoiding also the difficulties of the Seamarsh and of the exposed Passage to Caldecot, would be as follows. To those who admit Leman's route, it will show an easy substitute for it in times of difficulty; and to those who reject his route as an entire line, it will exhibit a practicable alternative.

In the present Memoir (p. 46) it has been stated that Leman's theory as to Antonine's line brings it from Bath, by the vale of the Avon, to Seamills, with subsequent continuation over the marsh, westwards, to the Severn, and thence over the broad exposed Estuary to Caldecot.

It is added, that if the marsh and transit are objected to, still Caldecot Pill would have been a petty Port for general purposes, and the road from Caerwent would have had its use.

And it is thus also with the Roman Camp on the Avon near Seamills. If it had no transit to protect, the petty Port guarded by it would remain, and for such purpose the road to it traced by Bitton, St. George's, and Durdham Down would still have had an object.

And so also would that other way (a British and subsequently Roman vicinal way) which tended primarily from Gloucester towards Bristol, and which will be found as the RIDGEWAY, in its approach to ALMONDSBURY from the north, on the Ordnance Map, and there diverges from its main line south-westwards and proceeds by Knole Camp and Over, and then, in the direction of Cribb's Causeway, by Henbury and King's Weston to Seamills. (Seyer, I. 72.)

Now it is observable, and will be reverted to hereafter, that, though Seyer follows Leman in passing through *Seamills* to *Antonine's* point of transit, he adopts *Aust* as *Richard's*. To reach Aust he travels from Bath along the Avon *westwards* to Seamills, as Leman does; then turns *north-eastwards* in the line last-mentioned to Almondsbury; and then turns *north-westwards* again, "to the Trajectus,

the ferry at Aust"* (I. cap. ii. s. 58), specifying the route to it in a previous Chapter (i. s. 69), namely, "the lateral road to Aust—nearly as at present, through Olveston and Elberton."

A glance at the Map will show that, instead of this circuit by *two sides of a triangle* from St. George's to Seamills and thence to Almondsbury, he might have passed direct *along the base of it* from St. George's to Almondsbury, and this by an admitted line of ancient way. The Roman route from Bath by Bitton is well confirmed, and its advance westwards to St. George's also, by Leman and Seyer (Coxe's Monmouth, i. p. *14; Seyer's Bristol, i. p. 151); and it is then lost in Bristol suburbs. It could not reach Durdham Down, however, without passing through those suburbs, and could not have done so without cutting the ancient way tending from Gloucester to Bristol, by Almondsbury, as above mentioned. The *precise line* of such ancient way between Almondsbury and Bristol is indefinite, and it is marked in Hatcher's Map, in his Richard of Cirencester, as an uncertain continuation of a certain Roman way. Perhaps it divided into two lines there as at present, and as British Roads often did, or it might take a middle course between them, as the projected Railway from Bristol to Aust, sanctioned by Parliament, would have done.

A comparison of Taylor's Gloucestershire Map of 1777 with the Ordnance Map will show a nearly connected line by which one of these branches may have passed, and names, including a "Cold Harbour," which invite antiquarian speculation. Be the exact line of such former route however as it may, it is clear that an ancient way tending from north to south, as the continuation of the Ridgeway would have done, would have been intersected successively by Seyer's British Trackway and Leman's Roman line severally tending from East to West, namely, from Bath to the Severn, and would supply a communication between them. The traveller of ancient days, who preferred the Vale of the Avon to the ascent towards Stoke, might proceed by Leman's line to the present St. George's, and then, rejecting the marsh and the transit

* Seyer here uses Trajectus in the sense of Transit only, as he places Antonine's Station of that name at Bristol, I. p. 144; and Richard's at Sudbrook, I. p. 136.

in its later part, might ascend by this connecting link to the Trackway, and proceed westwards to a surer Passage from Aust.

II. On the second point, namely, the possible identity of such combined lines with RICHARD'S VIA JULIA, or with the route described in ANTONINE'S ITER XIV., such reader only is addressed as is conversant with the theories, doubts Leman's route, over the Marsh from Seamills to the estuary and his exposed transit to Caldecot, and agrees with Seyer (Vol. I. cap. ii. ss. 32, 33, and p. 46 preceding), that the Seamarsh ranging northwards from the Avon to Aust was impracticable in the Roman period. Such reader may refer to the geologically coloured Ordnance Map, trace the junction of the firm red marl and limestone district with the Seamarsh skirted by the road from King's Weston to Almondsbury before-mentioned, and trace also Seyer's British Trackway from Bath to Almondsbury, and then looking northwards from the Avon, he will find all probable lines from Bath to Aust contained in these limits, and Aust, *under such circumstances*, the nearest point for transit. Even if he rejects AUST, and proceeds two miles northwards beyond Elberton to OLDBURY (most unnecessarily, but in the train of older antiquaries), he will still proceed to it from the south by the way to Aust, through Almondsbury and Olveston, and as far as Elberton.

III. THE ITINERARIES themselves are next to be considered, and first that attributed to *Richard*, native of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, whose ITER XI., containing the VIA JULIA, relates to the present subject. It is contained in Bertram's Tres Scriptores (p. 39), among the "Diaphragmata," professed by Richard (the alleged Author) to be collected from Roman fragments, Ptolemy, and miscellaneous sources. The History of the discovery of the MS. by Bertram will be found in his own work cited above, Stukeley's Memoir, Reynolds's Antonine, and Britton's Life of Hatcher. The condemnatory points regarding this suspected authority are best given in the notice prefixed by the Historical Society to the earlier copies of their edition of Richard of Devizes.

Iter XI. (Bertram, p. 39) proceeds thus from Bath:—
"Ad Abonam, MP. vj.; ad Sabrinam, vj.; unde Trajectu intras in Britanniam Secundam et Stationem Trajectum,

MP. iij.; Venta Silurum, viiij.; Isca Colonia, viij, unde fuit Aaron Martyr.

In the first stage, vj miles would agree with placing "AD ABONAM" at Bitton. The next vj miles, to "AD SABRINAM," would neither reach the Severn nor any possible former, but not existing Station *near* it. Three miles from Aust (if this place is intended) would agree with a passage from thence to the landing place at Blackrock, near to Sudbrook Camp, considered by Seyer to be Richard's "STATIO TRAJECTUS," which agrees with Richard as to being on the western shore, that is to say, in "Britannia Secunda," but not in "entry by traject," as there is no stream that could have maintained a Pill or inlet. Hatcher avoids this point, and Leman seems to confound Richard's Trajectus with the distinct Station so named by Antonine.

The *nine* miles from the landing place to Venta should have been three, if Blackrock is intended to be the former.

WITH ANTONINE the case is different. His ITER (inverted and taken *westwards* as Richard's is) would be "TRAJECTUS, vj, MP.; ABONE, ix; VENTA SILURUM, ix."

It is proposed to adopt Gale's well-known *transposition* of TRAJECTUS and ABONE, placing *Abone* "ad ripam Abonis fluvii," and Archdeacon Rudge's limitation of *Trajectus* to an estuary or river broad enough to require the aid of navigation for transport to the other side.

ABONE (thus transposed) will agree with BITTON in distance.

The ix miles of the next stage will not reach ELBERTON CAMP. Possibly xvj would exceed it, and this may be put to the account of error in numerals, perhaps corrigible. There is a clear excess of v miles in the *total* of this Iter described as 103 instead of 98 miles, to which last sum only the stated several stages amount. This surplusage is not required in other places, and a further general surplusage is applicable since the admitted substitution of Silchester instead of Reading for "Calleva," as the stage following Spinæ or Speenhamland at the eastern terminus of this Iter.

The remaining ix miles between TRAJECTUS and VENTA SILURUM will agree with the distance between ELBERTON CAMP and CAERWENT, including the passage from Aust to Blackrock. The identity of Caerwent itself with Venta Silurum is uniformly admitted.

THE READER may compare this with the Ordnance Map, and the authorities cited, and he will find it a nearer approximation than has been previously suggested; but where numerals are corrupted, and the very ruins and vestiges of the former roads have, in most cases, disappeared, precise confirmation is almost hopeless.

V.—VICINAL ROAD FROM GLEVUM TO VENTA SILURUM (THE RYKNIELD STREET OF HATCHER).

The line of way here, as before, is assumed, where correction is not requisite, from previous authorities, and illustration of it limited to those confirmations of it which have been personally observed. Hatcher considered this to be a part of the main line of the British Ryknield Street, which he deduces from Tynemouth to Wall near Lichfield, thence onwards to Gloucester, and by Lydney to Chepstow, and in further (probable) course by Abergavenny to St. David's. The remains of this British Street, afterwards adopted by the Romans, are an unpaved hollow way, identified by its bearing and by the names, camps, and discovered relics in its vicinity.

Points nearer Gloucester are left to local antiquaries, this memoir taking up the supposed line at Sparkes's Hill west of Newnham, where it appears as a disused hollow way to the right of the present turnpike road. Proceeding westwards it is called Old Street at the top of Nibley Hill, and gives name to a tenement there, and after passing the Purlieu occurs again on the right as a remarkably deep, hollow, disused way in the descent to Lydney.

Between the town of Lydney and Ailburton it appears next as a hollow way between the present road and the hills on the right crowned with two Roman camps, of which one contains the remains of the once splendid Temple dedicated to a Deity of supposed sanitary powers and is most rich in antiquities.* It has here (as seems most pro-

* General plans of these Camps, which are only noticed thus briefly here as proofs of Roman Settlement, are given in Archæologia, Vol. X., and some of their treasures in Lysons's Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ; but these afford faint ideas of the interest of these Remains.

Within the greater Camp, when excavated under directions of its owner, the late Right Honourable Charles Bathurst, were discovered the foundation walls of an irregular Quadrangle, the sides of which averaged severally about 200 feet, exclusive of a range of offices along the N.W. side,

bable) been crossed by a Roman line descending from the camp to the Severn Marsh, partially but not continuously explored.*

The line then passes through Alvington, where Camden, deceived by similarity of sound, placed his ABONE, and to which, in consequence of this conjecture, he erroneously brought the military way of Antonine's Iter XIV. from Venta.

Crossing the Cone river, it next enters that part of the forest peninsula once called the Earl Marshall's Liberty, which was a part of the Marches, and re-annexed by statute of Henry VIII. to Gloucestershire from which it had been severed.†

At this point on the left is a bold swell of ground, the Aluredeston of Domesday and the Alverdeston Grange of the Tintern Charters, now Plusterwine. Coins of unascer-

and of a Palatial Fabric on its upper or N.E. side.

This Fabric, once, possibly, the residence of Flavius Senilis, hereafter mentioned, had a Portico along its west front, and an open court in the centre, surrounded by corridors, in which, and in various other apartments, tesselated pavements occurred. This building measured about 150 by 135 feet.

On the north side of this building, separated from it by an open space, were Baths and Hypocausts, within a detached building measuring about 125 feet in length by 70 in greatest breadth.

Near the centre of the principal Quadrangle was (as is supposed) the temple of the tutelar deity, the "TEMPLUM NODENTIS" mentioned in the Inscription below. It was about 95 feet long by 75 broad, and in it were three tesselated pavements, the largest having the name of the erector (as in IV), placed over a fanciful border representing the twisted bodies of salmons, the fish of the Severn.

The whole was excavated under the direction of its late owner, the relics and coins carefully preserved, plans and drawings taken, and a series of engravings (of very limited number) executed, in which eleven tesselated pavements are included. All was then covered again for preservation. Among the relics are coins to the time of Allectus inclusive, a statuette, votive offerings of limbs supposed to be acknowledgments of the sanitary powers of Nodens or Nodons, and three votive inscriptions given below, together with the Inscription in the Temple. No. III has been printed by Lysons, the others are not known to have been published, and are given with their errors of grammar and spelling.

I.
D. M. NODONTI.
I. L. BLANDINVS.
ARMATVRA
V. S L M

II.
PECTILLVS.
VOTVM. QVOD.
PROMISSIT.
DEO. NVDENTE
M. DEDIT.

III.
DIVO.
NODENTI. SILVIANVS.
ANILVM. PERDEDIT.
DEMEDIAM. PARTEM.
DONAVIT. NODENTI.
INTERQVIBVS. NOMEN
SENICIANI. NOLLIS.
PERMITTAS. SANITA—
TEM. DONEC. PERFERAT.
VSQVE. TEMPLVM. NO—
DENTIS.

IV. Imperfect, but the seeming number of deficient letters is shown by points, as follows:—

D. A... FLAVIVS. SENILIS. PR. REL. EX. STRIBVS. POSSVIT O .... ANTE. VICTORINO. INTER... ATE.

* Plan and notes communicated by Charles Bathurst, Esq.

† See Memoir by the author of this in Archæologia, Vol. XXIX. p. 22.

tained age and remains of buildings are said to have occurred here and at the eastern end of it, bounded by a former inlet of the Severn, where further shelter may have been afforded by the Guscar rocks, are the fields called "*the Chesters*," a name of promise unfulfilled by any results in recent railway excavations.

After this, STROAT (the *Strœte* of Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus*), with the occurrence of the names of Din-y-gaer and Oldbury Field on the right give some indications supported by traces of earthworks and strength of position arising from irregularities of surface, which would confine the pass, at any time, to its present line. And stronger evidence may be gathered from discoveries upon Tidenham Chase on the right, previously mentioned as crossed by the Way from Beachley to Monmouth.† On this elevation a brass coin of the younger Faustina was lately found, and within a tumulus, in 1825, the ROMAN ALTAR lately presented by the writer to the Institute. Other tumuli occur between this last-mentioned point and the supposed Roman works adjacent to the Saxon Dyke at Madgets, the Modiete of Domesday.

The further approach of this street to Chepstow through Tidenham,‡ the descent of it to the Wye through the Tutshill coppices, the traditional ford, the ascent up Piercefield Cliffs, and the visible continuation of it between Chepstow Castle and Crossway Green, have been given in the memoir before-mentioned.§ Additional remains of the Saxon Dyke have been traced, since the publication of that memoir, from the vicinity of Penmoyle along the edge of the Wye Cliffs to the point where this line reaches the banks of the Wye. The Dyke does not interfere with the road, but has a break in its course on the cliff above it.

* Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonum, Vol. II. p. 327; Vol. III. p. 444, 450.

† See p. 52, preceding.

‡ It may be desirable to mention that on a slight elevation, N. W. of Tidenham Church, is an enclosure called the Stony lands, once fenced by earthen mounds and guarded on two sides by deep angles, and by slopes on the others; and it would have commanded, if a military post, the street or line of way here traced, as well as a hollow way leading from the ford of the Wye at Llancaut to the Pill House on the Severn, a landing place opposite to the Camps of Oldbury. It is however more likely, from its position, to have been of monastic than military character, and most probably the Saxon Grange of the Seculars of Bath Abbey under King Edwy's Charter. It certainly belonged to their successors, the Monks of de Lyra and those of Shene.

§ Since its composition, the British coin engraved in the Journal of the Archæological Association, Vol. IV. p. 257, was found in the Castle ditch, and one coin of Allectus near the same spot previously.

In its further continuation this way, after entering Monmouthshire, would take up the communication from Beachley already mentioned, after passing Hardwick, and would subsequently pass through the valley between St. Pierre and Runston by a line now sinuous, but drawn as a *direct line* in the old St. Pierre maps, and popularly considered "the Roman Way." At Crick this Way (now disused as a public road) joins that line from Blackrock, which was the subject of the last division, and in its further progress towards Caerwent becomes the "remarkable" military way described by Horseley in 1732.*

AT THIS RETURN TO VENTA the precise inquiry ends; but it may be desirable to preserve a notice of Roman remains found at the point where the continuation to Caerleon approaches the defile between Penhow and the lower Wentwood range, at the distance of about one mile from Caerwent.

HERE, at a place marked as the "Five Lanes" in the Ordnance Map, in the field N. E. of their intersection, is a large flattened tumulus like that at Crick, stated to have been opened without result. In the next field westwards (the property of the Tynte family and called Cherry Orchard) Roman remains of great interest were found about twenty years ago. "One very handsome tesselated pavement was destroyed by children, and a large portion of another pavement was subsequently found, but immediately covered up as the only means of preservation."† Scattered "tesseræ" occurred on the surface of the field several years afterwards, when the writer examined it.

It is unnecessary to pursue the united lines further towards CAERLEON, the next Station, where accumulated results of excavations have been duly appreciated, and liberality and taste have been equally conspicuous in their preservation and arrangement.

* See page 53. The remains of this "undoubtedly Roman way" were visible when Coxe visited it in 1799; see Tour p. *20.

† Communication from the late Col. Lewis, of St. Pierre, who was present at the discovery of the second pavements.

THE DESCENT OF THE EARLDOM OF GLOUCESTER.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE descent of the Earldom of Gloucester, which I propose to consider on the present occasion, extends from its creation by king Henry I. to its extinction by the attainder of Thomas le Despenser, the last earl, shortly after the accession of Henry IV. This descent is chiefly remarkable for the number of families through which the dignity passed, in dependance upon the rights, or pretensions, of female inheritance; for in the course of two centuries and a half it was transferred either seven or eight times in consequence of such claims. It first originated in the provision made by king Henry I. for Robert his favourite illegitimate son.

Henry I. had several natural children, but ROBERT is said to have been the eldest, and his mother was of exalted birth. Her name was Nesta, the daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales, which Nesta afterwards married Gerald of Windsor, constable of Pembroke Castle, and from that marriage the Fitzgeralds, earls of Kildare and dukes of Leinster, have descended.*

The city of Caen is said to have been the birthplace of Robert earl of Gloucester, and Sandford attributes to him a surname from that city. It is certain that in virtue of his marriage he afterwards became constable and governor of Caen,† and I suspect some misapprehension may have arisen from that circumstance. He was still in his early youth when his royal father found the means of providing for his future support, by bestowing upon him the heiress of Robert Fitz-Hamon. This Robert Fitz-Hamon had been

* She is said to have had another son by the king, named Henry; and she was the maternal grandmother of the historian Giraldus Cambrensis. See Archæologia Cambrensis, New Series, iii. 133.

† Stapleton's Norman Rolls, i. p. xxxi.

one of the comrades of the Conqueror, who rewarded him with his customary bounty. He received the lordship of Bristol, that of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, and that of Cardiff, in South Wales. He was also Lord of Corbeil, in Normandy. He performed a great service to Henry I. in obtaining the surrender of the city of Caen, and was thereupon made its governor.

This loyal and wealthy baron being deceased, the king determined to bestow his heiress in marriage on his own son Robert. The rhyming historian Robert of Gloucester represents the lady as somewhat reluctant to accept the youth, and as holding a parley with her sovereign, which has often been quoted in illustration of the origin of surnames. "Sir," said she, "well I wote your heart is set upon me rather for mine heritage than for myself; and, considering what that heritage is, it were a great disgrace to me to own a lord that had no surname. My father's name was Robert le Fitz-Hamon, and no one that was not of his kin could properly assume it. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake let me accept no man unless he have a name whereby he may be known." "Damsel," quoth the king, "thou sayst well; his name shall be Sir Robert Fitz-Roy." The maid replied that such would be a fair name for him during his life; yet that it would not be appropriate for his son or his posterity; because patronymics were then strictly interpreted, according to their original meaning, and Fitz-Roy would imply the actual *son* of the king; and she therefore proceeded to demand by what name his son should be called. The king then declared that, as her estates lay chiefly in Gloucestershire, he should be Earl of Gloucester, which title and dignity would of course descend to his son.

This arrangement, we are to presume, was satisfactory to the family pride of the heiress, and such, according to the quaint old chronicler, was the origin of the earldom of Gloucester. The new earl subsequently became a prominent character in the struggle for the throne, between its occupant king Stephen and its claimant the empress Maud, in which he stoutly supported the cause of his half-sister. I am not aware whether the name of Fitz-Roy, as applied to him, occurs in any other place than in Robert of Gloucester's verses; but he was also distinguished by the surname of Rufus, or the Red, probably from the colour of

his hair and beard; and he is frequently mentioned as Robert Consul.

The designation Consul has been usually regarded as merely synonymous with Comes, or Earl.* I suspect it may have had a somewhat further import; but it has not hitherto been my good fortune to meet with any evidence in elucidation of this point.

Mr. Dallaway, in his essay on ancient Bristol, states that "Robert the Consul, or the Red, Earl of Gloucester, built or rebuilt the castle of Bristowe about 1110; but it does not appear that he had completed it before 1138, when he received his half-sister the empress Maud." He died in 1147, seven years before the end of Stephen's reign, and was buried in the midst of the choir of the monastery of St. James, in Bristol, which he had founded.

WILLIAM, his son and heir, the second earl of Gloucester, held the earldom for twenty-six years, having an only son, Robert, his heir apparent. This Robert died without issue in 1170, and his three sisters then became the presumptive heirs of their father. Shortly after, Mabel, the eldest, was married to Amaury, the eldest son of Simon de Montfort, comte of Evreux. William earl of Gloucester died in 1173; and after his decease his three daughters, Mabel countess of Evreux, Amicia countess of Clare, and Isabella, then in the king's wardship, were found to be his heirs. Each of these ladies was entitled to some share in their father's estates; but the earldom, being indivisible, might be awarded by the sovereign to which of the three he pleased, and he chose to give it to the youngest, because her marriage was still at his disposal. A parallel award was made in the next reign of the earldom of Salisbury. William earl of Salisbury left three daughters; and king Richard chose to give the earldom in marriage with Ela to his natural brother, William Longespée—the two other daughters being married to Normans of inferior rank.

King Henry the Second, as guardian of the heiress, retained this earldom in his own hands for three years, during

* "*Consul* is often used for *Earl* in the time of the first age of the Norman kings, in William of Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, and some such men. But with king Stephen this kind of use of that word ended. Only Bracton, (De Rer. Divis. lib. i. cap. 8, § 2,) that wrote under Henry III., says, indeed, that *comites dici possunt consules a consulendo.*" This passage of Selden's Titles of Honour is not very satisfactory.

which time he confirmed certain grants made by her father.* It then, as so often happened in similar cases, was assigned to a junior scion of the royal house. This time the party was not a bastard, but legitimate; namely, JOHN, the third and youngest son of the king, and himself afterwards king of England. John was born in the king's manor-house at Oxford, in 1166. His marriage was arranged ten years after, in 1176; but, it is said, with this caution, that the pope's license and dispensation might be obtained, a condition which afterwards facilitated his divorce.

John was not actually in possession of the earldom of Gloucester until after the accession of his brother king Richard; in the first year of whose reign we find, in the great roll of the exchequer, Hugh Bardolf accounting for the revenue of the county, for three parts of a year before the king had given the honour to his brother.†

John is considered to have been Earl of Gloucester until his accession to the crown; but he did not usually pass by this title. During the reign of his brother Richard he went by the designation of Earl of Morton, derived from the comté of Mortaigne, in Normandy.‡ Upon his succession to the throne, being without children by his wife, he obtained a divorce from her on the plea that they were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This was accomplished in the second year of his reign, and he was re-married to Isabel of France. The tyrant continued, however, to retain the countess of Gloucester and her lands in his custody; until, more than thirteen years after, he sold them, (excepting the castle and forest of Bristol,) to Geoffrey de Mandeville earl of Essex.§ The price was twenty thousand marks; whereof five thousand were to be paid before the king's departure for Poictou, five thousand

* Monasticon, iv. 335.

† Selden's Titles of Honour.

‡ I have met with no seal of John as earl of Gloucester; but one of Isabella, as countess of Gloucester and Mortaigne, represents her standing, a flower in her right hand and a hawk on her left, the legend, SIGILLVM ISABEL COMITISSÆ GLOCESTRIE ET MORETVIL. This is engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for December 1840, communicated by the Rev. J. M. Traherne, F.S.A., from an impression among the muniments of Mr. Mansel Talbot, at Margam Abbey.

§ Rex vic. Glouc. &c. Scias quod dedimus Isabellam comitissam Gloucestrie Galfrido de Mandevilla comiti Essex, in uxorem, cum omnibus terris et tenementis et feodis ipsius comitisse quæ sunt in manu nostra, exceptis castro Bristollie et foresta Bristollie. T. xxviij. Jan. [1214.] Rot. Lit. Claus. i. 162.

more at Easter ensuing, and five thousand at Michaelmas.* The chroniclers state that the earl made this bargain unwillingly, and was never able to fulfil it.† It is probable that he had some difficulty in so doing,‡ and there may be truth in the assertion that his woods were destroyed and his manors deeply pledged in the venture. In any case, he had no reason to be satisfied with the king's conduct, for he soon after joined the rebellious party, which invited Louis of France to their aid; and it was in a tournament, held with the French in London, that his career was closed, in the year 1216. During the life of earl Geoffrey, the countess, with his consent, made a grant to Basseley priory, (which was situate in Wentlock, part of her ancestral domains); the names of their respective earldoms taking precedence in the designation of each.§

Earl Geoffrey died without issue. The Dunstable chronicler, after stating his death, proceeds to say, that his widow was married to Hubert de Burgh, the chief justice; and that, dying shortly after, she was buried at Canterbury. Sir William Dugdale has adopted this statement of her marriage.‖ It appears, however, that this is a mistake; arising from the circumstance of her lands being committed to the custody of Hubert de Burgh,¶ in consequence of earl Geoffrey having died in rebellion.

The countess of Gloucester was living on the 17th September, 1217, when her return to the king's fealty and service was announced to the sheriff of Oxfordshire;** but before the 18th November she was deceased, and we then find her nephew, GILBERT DE CLARE, already styled Earl of Gloucester.††

Before we proceed with the history of the earls of this family, it is necessary to take some notice of AMAURY DE

* Dugdale, Baronage, from Rot. Fin. 15 Joh. m. 1.

† Annales de Dunstaple.

‡ "Galfridus de Mandeville non tenet finem quem nobiscum fecit." Rot. Claus. i. 163. This, however, was in the month next after the marriage, and in the following August it appears that he had "satisfied the king." See several letters, ibid. pp. 209, 210, 211.

§ Sciant præsentes et futuri quod ego Isabella, Comitissa Gloucestriæ et Essexiæ, consensu et assensu domini mei Galfridi de Maundevile, Comitis Essexiæ et Gloucestriæ, concessi, &c. Hearne's Adam de Domerham, p. 609; Monasticon, iv. 634.

‖ Baronage, vol. i. pp. 699 and 706.

¶ See Mr. Foss's Lives of the Judges, ii. 277.

** Rot. Lit. Claus. i. 323.

†† Mandatum est justiciariis de Banco quod ponent in respectum loquelam quæ est inter G. de Clara, Comitem Gloucestriæ, et Willielmum de Cantilupa et Milisentam uxorem ejus de placito dotis, &c. Rot. Lit. Claus. i. 344. Milisent was the dowager countess of Evreux, widow of Amaury de Montfort.

MONTFORT, the son of Amaury earl of Evreux, by Mabella the eldest daughter and heir of William earl of Gloucester. This Amaury claimed the dignity of earl of Gloucester, and assumed the title, though we have no proof that it was ever allowed him. Under this title, in the month of May, 1200, he quit-claimed to the king of France the city of Evreux and the *Evrecin*, to the deeds for the ratification of which two seals were appended—with the legend, *Sigillum Almarici Comitis Glovernie;* one representing him on horseback, armed; and the other bearing an impression, both on the front and the reverse, of his shield of arms, party per pale indented, the latter being inscribed *Secretum Comitis Glovernie.** Earl Amaury was dead, without issue, before the 30th November, 1213;* and the title of Gilbert de Clare, the son of the third sister, Amicia countess of Clare, was therefore complete on the death of his aunt the countess Isabella. The marriage of Amicia, his mother, had already taken place at her father's death in 1173; and her son and heir, Gilbert, had succeeded his father as earl of Hertford in 1218.

This family of Clare derived their descent from the comtes of Brionne before the conquest of England, and took their English name from the great castle of Clare in Suffolk. The earldom of Hertford was conferred upon Richard de Clare by king Stephen, and that of Pembroke on his brother Gilbert.

But the earls of Pembroke often went by the designation of earls of Striguil, the ancient name of their castle of Chepstow; and their cousins of Hertford were in like manner customarily styled earls of Clare. Richard, the fourth earl of this branch, was the husband of Amicia of Gloucester, and the father of Gilbert the fifth earl. There were four earls of Gloucester of this family, in successive generations, the second named Richard, and the two last Gilbert. The first Gilbert died in 1229, Richard in 1261, the second Gilbert in 1295, and the third in 1313. After this dignity had come into the family, they were no longer called Earls of Clare, but Earls of Gloucester and Hertford, or of Gloucester only, this being the earldom of senior precedence.

This order was not however uniform. On the seal of earl

* Stapleton's Rotuli Norm. vol. i. p. cxliv.

Richard * he is styled on the obverse, where he is figured riding on horseback—*Sigillum Ricardi de Clare, Comitis Hertfordie;* and on the reverse, displaying the shield of Clare, which two lions are supporting with their backs—*Sigillum Ricardi de Clare, Comitis Glovernie.*

The seal of his son, earl Gilbert,† has the like legends —each earldom being named distinctly; and the relative importance of each side of the seal being also maintained by each representing his figure on horseback—on the Hertford side riding to the right, and on the Gloucester side to the left.

Earl Gilbert, the second of his name, had married for his first wife a niece of the king of France, Alicia, daughter of Guy comte of Angoulême; and for his second wife he made the still more illustrious alliance with a daughter of his own sovereign.

This was the princess Joan of Acre, the second child and eldest daughter of king Edward I., born at Acre, in Palestine, when the faithful queen Alianor attended her consort on his crusade in the year 1272. The marriage of the princess Joan was celebrated at the house of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, near London, in 1290; and in May, 1291, her son Gilbert, afterwards earl, was born at Tewkesbury. But this happy marriage, to one of the greatest of her father's subjects, was not destined to be of long duration; for earl Gilbert died at his castle of Monmouth in 1295.

We now meet with an incident in the descent of the earldom of Gloucester, which, though the like occurs in several instances of heiresses, is, I believe, unparalleled in the case of any other countess dowager. The countess of Gloucester married again, and by that marriage she conferred the earldom on her second husband, during her own life. Whether such tenure would have continued after her son, Gilbert de Clare, had attained his majority, was not put to the proof, as she died in 1307, when he was only sixteen; but it may fairly be presumed that it would, the dignity being actually vested in herself; for, in the case of the earldom of Salisbury, in the reign of Henry III., the son could not inherit whilst his mother, the heiress of the

* Engraved in Watson's Earls of Warren and Surrey.

† This is engraved in Spelman's Aspilogia, and in Sandford's Genealogical History.

earldom, was alive, although he was of full age, and she the abbess of a nunnery.

It is probable that the peculiar privilege which accrued to the countess of Gloucester was provided by king Edward for his daughter by the terms of her marriage settlement. The earl of Gloucester, at his marriage, surrendered to the king all his castles and manors, both in England and Wales, and the king restored them with an entail by which, had he died without issue by her, they were to come to the princess herself, her heirs and assigns. It was by such an entail, made on the marriage of Thomas earl of Lancaster, (a peer of the blood royal,) with the heiress of the earldom of Lincoln, that that earldom subsequently became the inheritance of his nephew Henry duke of Lancaster, although he had no blood of the ancient earls. Such then seems to have been the usual condition of an alliance with the royal house.

I have no fuller particulars of the entail made in the case of the Princess Joan of Acre than those I have already stated; but it seems that her name was placed in it before that of her child, and that thus in fact she *inherited* the earldom of Gloucester on her husband's decease.

But neither her extraordinary privileges, nor her exalted birth, protected the countess of Gloucester from the intrusion of the more ordinary influences of female happiness. Like other dowagers in their "free widowhood," she ventured to take upon herself the responsibility of her next change of condition; for the ladies of the middle ages, when they really enjoyed a relaxation of their feudal fetters, appear to have indulged their own inclinations with a wilfulness proportioned to their unwonted liberty of action. Shortly after her husband's death, the countess of Gloucester cast her eyes upon a handsome young esquire of his household, named RALPH DE MONTHERMER, and within two years the king made the discovery that she had formed a secret marriage with him. His previous obscurity may be presumed from the fact that no earlier mention of his name has been found in records. King Edward, on his first discovery of this unequal match, being highly incensed, for he was even then treating for his daughter's alliance with Amadée duke of Savoy, seized to his own hands all her castles and lands, and committed Monthermer to strait im-

prisonment in the castle of Bristol. Nevertheless, through the mediation of Anthony Beke, bishop of Durham, a reconciliation was effected, when Monthermer was admitted to perform the ceremony of homage for the earldom at the palace of Eltham, on the 2nd August, 1297. On the 10th April following he occurs, bearing the title of Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, being then summoned to attend a parliament at Salisbury. When he went the expedition to Scotland in 1300, the poet of the siege of Carlaverock describes him as "one who, after great doubts and fears, had accomplished his courtship of the countess of Gloucester; for whom he long endured great calamities, until it pleased God he should be delivered. He bore on his banner (continues the poet) only the three red chevrons of Clare upon a field of gold; but he made no bad appearance as attired in his own coat of arms, which was yellow, charged with a green eagle." It is in "his own coat" alone that earl Ralph de Monthermer appears on his great seal,* the eagle being displayed on his shield, on the mantlings of his horse, as his own crest, and as that of his horse. It is also the sole charge of his shield on the reverse of the seal. The legend of both sides of the seal are alike, viz.: S. RADULFI DE MONTE HERMERII, COM. GLOVERNIE ET HERTFORD. This eagle of Monthermer has since been widely distributed among the achievements of our nobility; for it was not only quartered by the Montagues and Nevilles earls of Salisbury, and the Beauchamps earls of Warwick, but also adopted by the later Montagues earls and dukes of Manchester, and earls of Halifax and Sandwich, although their connexion with the family of the earls of Salisbury is more than apocryphal. In another line it has descended to the earls and dukes of Montagu, and to the present duke of Buccleuch, and lord Montagu of Boughton. The title of viscount Monthermer was conferred with the earldom of Montagu in 1689, and that of marquess of Monthermer with the dukedom of Montagu in 1705,—titles which expired with the second duke in 1749; and the marquesate was conferred a second time with the dukedom in 1766, and became extinct in 1790.

So far did Monthermer himself, by his personal prowess,

* Engraved both in Sandford's Genealogical History of England, and in the Vetusta Monumenta (the Barons' Letter to the Pope).

his knightly demeanour, and his prudent conduct in the wars of Scotland, establish his credit with his royal father-in-law, that ten years after his marriage the king granted to him the forfeited lands and dignity of the earldom of Athol. But the same year his wife died; and from that event he no longer ranked as an earl in the English parliament, and the Scottish earldom he sold for 5000 marks to David de Strathbogie, the son and heir of its former possessor. He was summoned for some years after as a baron, and died about 1325, having had issue two sons (the younger of whom was afterwards a baron by writ) and a daughter married to Duncan earl of Fife.

The third GILBERT DE CLARE inherited the earldom on his mother's death, being then sixteen years of age; but his career was short, for he was slain at the battle of Bannockburn in 1313, (in which disastrous field also his step-father, Monthermer, was taken prisoner,) and he left no surviving issue.

His three sisters thereupon became his co-heirs, namely, Alianor, wife of the king's favourite, Hugh le Despenser the younger; Margaret, the widow of his other favourite, Piers de Gaveston earl of Cornwall; and Elizabeth, wife of John de Burgh, son and heir of the earl of Ulster.

The dignity of Earl of Gloucester is attributed by some writers to HUGH LE DESPENSER; but though he was summoned to parliament from the 8th Edward II. to the 19th of that reign, it was always in the rank of a baron. His great seal styles him "dominus Glamorgannie et Morgannie," but nothing more. His father was created earl of Winchester (10th of May, 15 Edward II.), to which dignity in the ordinary course of events he would have succeeded; and the elder Despenser was advanced in years: but he lived on to encounter that cruel death in the city of Bristol, the horrors of which are described by Froissart, and both father and son were immediately after attainted in parliament.

The latter days of the Despensers will be familiar to those who are acquainted with Bristol history. The younger Hugh, having made his escape into Wales, was subsequently arrested there, and on the eve of St. Andrew in 1326 he was executed at Hereford.

It appears therefore that the name of Hugh le Despenser

is not justly entitled to be placed in the list of the earls of Gloucester, though that dignity is sometimes attributed to him.

His brother-in-law, HUGH DE AUDLEY, who had married the countess of Cornwall, the widow of Piers de Gaveston, had taken the opposite side in politics, and had fought on the part of the earl of Lancaster at the battle of Boroughbridge. He consequently was in disgrace during the supremacy of the Despensers, though it is said that for his wife's sake he escaped the destruction which befel others of his friends. He was restored to his lands in the first year of Edward III., but not admitted to the earldom of Gloucester until ten years later. The charter of his creation is dated the 16th of March, 1337, 11 Edward III. Selden remarks that it is one of the earliest he had seen with a preamble setting forth the merits of the grantee in the manner which has been customary in more recent times.* It is also remarkable as mentioning that the honour was assigned "de definitivo consilio parliamenti." This may allude to Hugh de Audley's claim to the dignity derived from his marriage; but in all other respects it assumes the air of an entirely new creation. Instead of the third penny from the issues of the county, which had been the ancient emolument of earls, the fixed annuity of 20*l.* was assigned to the new earl of Gloucester. He was girt with the sword of the earldom, and went through the other ceremonies of investiture in full parliament, the Prince of Wales (the Black Prince) being at the same time created Duke of Cornwall, William de Clinton Earl of Huntingdon, William de Bohun Earl of Nottingham, and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk. Hugh de Audley was earl of Gloucester for ten years, and died in 21 Edward III., 1347, leaving no heir to his dignity.

The title of Gloucester, which had already been borne by a king's daughter, was next conferred on a king's son, with the superior rank of duke.

* "Nos ad probitatem strenuam, charitatem generis, et providentiam circumspectam dilecti et fidelis nostri Hugonis de Audele, necnon ad obsequia placida quæ nobis in opportunitatibus tam liberaliter quam grataanter præstitit, personæ vel rerum dispendiis non vitatis, gratæ considerationis intuitum dirigentes ac operantes quod honoris adjectio probitati suæ gratum adjiciet incrementum, ipsum de definitivo dicti Parliamenti consilio in Comitem Gloucestriæ præfecimus, et de statu Comitis per cincturam gladii de munificentia regia investivimus, ad nomen et omen Comitis dicti loci sibi et heredibus suis perpetuo retinendum." See the rest of the charter in Selden's Titles of Honour.

THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, duke of Gloucester, was the sixth and youngest son of king Edward III., and was born on the 7th Jan., 1355-6. During his father's lifetime his establishment was provided for by his marriage with Alianor, elder of the two daughters and co-heirs of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex, and sister to Mary countess of Derby, the mother of king Henry the Fifth. Thomas of Woodstock was affianced to this lady in 1374, and in her right he immediately assumed the office of Constable of England. At the coronation of Richard II., in 1377, he was created Earl of Buckingham; and upon the partition of the lands of Bohun in 1380, between the countess Alianor and her sister, he acquired the additional title of Earl of Essex. In 1385, when he was with the king in his expedition towards Scotland, he was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Gloucester by patent dated the 6th of August; and the ceremony of creation was performed at Hawick in Northumberland, by girding him with a sword, and placing a cap with a circle of gold upon his head.* He soon after became the head of the opposition party. In 1387-8 he was chief of the lords appellant who impeached the royal favourite Richard de Vere duke of Ireland; and a few years after, in 1397, he was basely decoyed by the king his nephew from his castle of Pleshy in Essex, carried over to Calais, and there put to death.†

The representative of the Despenser family took this opportunity to urge his claim to the earldom. THOMAS LE DESPENSER was the great-grandson of Hugh whose presumed tenure of the dignity has been already adverted to. He was a young man, born about 1373, and attached to the court party. In August 1397 he was one of the council at Nottingham castle, which persuaded the king to appeal the duke of Gloucester and his party of treason. In the following month he appeared in parliament as one of the lords appellant, and before its close he was rewarded for his aid in that transaction by the earldom of Gloucester; and a large share of the forfeited lands of the earls of Warwick was settled upon him and Constance of York, then his wife.

In the same parliament the judgment of disinherison and

* Selden, p. 755.

† See a memoir of this duke in Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter.

exile which had been pronounced in the 15 Edward III. against his great-grandfather was revoked, and such of his ancestral estates as remained within the control of the Crown were restored to him. These ample bounties did not secure his fidelity to king Richard. He was among the first who deserted the unfortunate monarch in his distress, not hesitating to accept and discharge the insulting office of notifying on behalf of the peers the sentence of deposition on his late too indulgent master. This did not however protect him from the vengeance of the Lancastrian party. No sooner was king Henry's parliament opened than the appeal of 1397 became a subject of inquiry. The earl of Gloucester's defence was that he had acted under restraint; that his name had been inserted in the bill of appeal without his knowledge; that he had been in no respect privy to the murder of the duke of Gloucester, or a promoter of the sentences against the earls of Arundel and Warwick, or of the repeal of the patent to the duke of Lancaster. All these allegations were unavailable, and he was adjudged to be degraded from the dignity of earl of Gloucester, to forfeit all the grants he had received of the lands of those whom he had accused, to give thereafter no liveries nor cognizances, to maintain no other retinue than his domestic servants, and to hold all his possessions at the king's mercy.* Within a month after, Despenser entered into a conspiracy with four others of the former lords appellant to seize the person of the king. Having been foiled of this object at Windsor castle, they fled to the western counties. Despenser was arrested at Bristol, and beheaded by the citizens on the 16th January, 1399-1400. His body was conveyed to the magnificent tombs of his progenitors at Tewkesbury. By the Princess Constance of York (aunt to king Edward IV.) he had an only son, who died at the age of fourteen without issue. Such was the end of the once flourishing house of Despenser, and the last of the earls of Gloucester.

The title has in subsequent ages been always united to the dignity of duke, and has been strictly confined to the blood royal.

The good Duke HUMPHREY, the youngest son of Henry

* Rot. Parl. iii. 452.

IV., was summoned to parliament in 1414 as Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Pembroke, and died in 1446.

The next duke was RICHARD of York, created in the ninth year of his brother Edward IV., and on whose own accession to the throne the dignity merged in the Crown.

There was then no duke of Gloucester for nearly 160 years. During the reign of James the First, when so many ancient titles were bestowed on new families, this was still respected as peculiar to the royal house; and shortly after the birth of HENRY, the third (surviving) son of king Charles the First, in July, 1640, he was declared Duke of Gloucester. No creation however took place until shortly before the Restoration, when, by letters patent dated the 13th of May, 11 Car. II., 1659, he was created Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Cambridge. He sat in parliament on coming to England, although not then of full age; for he had only seen twenty years and two months when he died on the 13th of September, 1660.

WILLIAM, the only son of the princess Anne of Denmark (afterwards queen) that survived the age of infancy, was declared Duke of Gloucester by king William the Third at his baptism (three days after his birth), 27th July, 1689. He was elected into the order of the Garter by that title in 1696; but died at the age of eleven, July 30, 1700, before a patent of creation to the dukedom had been passed.

The dignity of Duke of Gloucester is next attributed to FREDERICK LEWIS, subsequently Prince of Wales.* In the London Gazette of the 11th January, 1717-18, it was announced,† under date of the 10th, that his Majesty had been pleased to give direction for a patent to be passed to

* When the Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards king George II., was created a British peer in 1706, the title of Gloucester was reserved. He was made both Marquess and Duke of Cambridge. It is possible that this was because the title of Gloucester was then considered to belong especially to the *third* son of a sovereign, as York to the second. Such a notion obtained in France relative to certain titles: "La qualité du second Fils est celle de Duc d'Orleans; celle du troisième, de Duc d'Anjou; et celle de quatrième, de Duc de Berry. Après cela il n'y a plus rien de fixe."—Nouvelle Description de la France. Amsterd. 1719, p. 47.

† At the period of this announcement, an infant prince (George William) was living, who had been born on the 2nd of November, 1717, and died in February following; and there is a contemporary print extant, in which that prince is styled Duke of Gloucester.—See the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1851, p. 512. The mistake was one into which the printseller might naturally fall; and we are still without an explanation of the concurrence of the proposed elevation of the elder brother with the short life of the prince George William, or of the subsequent suppression of the title which had been announced in the London Gazette.

create his Royal Highness Prince Frederick, eldest son of the Prince of Wales, Duke of Gloucester. Several books of the period recognise this title;* but, for some reason now unknown (unless it was a difficulty regarding his naturalization, for he never even came to England during his grandfather's life), the patent was not proceeded with; and when, in 1726, he was at length advanced to the English peerage at the same time as his younger brother the Duke of Cumberland, the title of Gloucester was abandoned, and that of Edinburgh substituted.

On the 19th November, 1764, the titles of Gloucester and Edinburgh together were conferred by king George III. on his younger brother WILLIAM HENRY. He died in 1805, and was succeeded by his only son WILLIAM FREDERICK the last duke, who died in 1834, leaving no heir, but whose widow is still living, and is now the sole surviving daughter of king George the Third.

* The British Compendium, 2nd edit., 1719; the Compendium for Scotland, 1720; and the 4th edition of the British Compendium, 1721. Also in Notitia Anglicana, 1724. See in the Gentleman's Magazine for November and December, 1851, some observations on this subject; those in the former number by the present writer, and those in the latter by Sir C. G. Young, Garter.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

From Documents preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster.

BY JOSEPH BURTT, ESQ.

PETITION OF THE MAYOR AND OTHERS AGAINST CANDLEMAS-FAIR, TEMPORE HENRY VIII.

PETITION OF THE MERCHANTS AND OTHERS OF BRISTOL AGAINST THE FAIR AT CANDLEMAS.

THE following contribution to the history of the trade of Bristol appears, on the showing of the document itself, to be of some importance. The question it treats of is said therein to involve the very existence of the town. While the privilege of holding *fairs*, and the opportunity of encouraging the meeting of buyers and sellers, have generally been eagerly sought after and maintained, the trade of Bristol in the sixteenth century seems to have been so conditioned as to compel the merchants and others affected by it to petition against a fair then lately appointed to be held at Candlemas. From the allegations in the petition, it would appear that the great port of the west was able to disseminate the rich stores, collected by its merchants, throughout the western counties by means of the inhabitants themselves. The chief effect of the fair appealed against seems to be an interference with this regular and extensive inland traffic. A matter so important to the town has most probably some record among its archives. With regard to the result of the petition, perhaps its success may be inferred from the fact of the non-occurrence of the alternative it declares to be inevitable, "the utter undoyng and destruction of the said Towne of Bristowe for ever."

The document, from which the following copy is made, is the original petition to which the municipal seal was attached (but which is now destroyed), and was probably presented to the Lord Privy Seal. It is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster.

JOSEPH BURTT.

The Complaynt of us Grocers Inhabitants of Bristowe agaynst Candelmas ffayre there holden.

Moost lamentably complayneth unto yo^r Lordship yo^r dayly and pore bedemen the Grocers and haberdasshers Inhabitants within this Towne of Bristowe concernyng the ffayre holden at Candelmas, which onlesse you be good unto us in the dissolvyng of the same we ar lyke to be utterly undone within fewe yeres and not oonly wee but the moost parte of all other Inhabitants within the same Towne, ffor where as wee for our parte were wonte and customably do frequent unto the Cite of London to our great costes and charges and then and there do bestowe a great substance of money, ye and to say the treuthe the gretest parte of our substance, thynkyng therby to have some profytt towardes our lyvyng, but the very trewthe is that at that tyme here is very great resorte of strangers owte of all parties, and there oon stranger selleth to an other at days, that is to say from the ffayre of Candelmas untill the ffayre of Saynt Jamys and so from the ffayre of Saynt Jamys to Candelmas agayne, by meanes wherof we must be driven to sell our wares farr better chepe then it cost us, which wilbe our utter undoying, orels we must lett it ly by us so long that we ar not able to kepe our credence with those which we be indetted unto. And moreover and besides that we fere lest the contynuance of this ffayre will ffamyshe not oonly us but also the moost parte of all the pore people within this Towne, ffor at that ffayre our ffishe is sett almoost clene away by strangers, and for that litle which remayneth for the sustentacion of this Towne (the scarcitie considred) is of suche a prise that wee shall not be able to by hit. Wherfore we instantly desyre your lordship to tendre this our moost lamentable complaynt, and we shall daily pray to our Lord Jhesu for the preservacion of your Lordship long to contynue.

[Here follow 17 signatures.]

The Complaynt of the Drapers of Bristowe and Taylors of the same agaynst Candalmas ffayre.

We the Company of Drapers of the Towne of Bristowe complayn and say that the ffayre holden at Candelmas within the said Towne is and shall be to the utter undoyng of us and of all that shall come after us of our occupacion, ffor where as the chifiste lyvyng that we had in all the yere was of merchaunds strangers, and specially of men of Irlonde and other merchaunds that bryng ffishe at that tyme, and we were wont to make them retorne in kerseys and all other clothe of all sortes bought of thinhabitantes of this Towne, and nowe they will unto the said ffayre at Candelmas and by and sell with other strangers which is to the utter undoyng of the Drapers burgeises of the said Towne and not oonly to Drapers but also to dyers towkers and shermen that have parte of their lyvyng at our handes. This ffayre is not oonly discomodyous unto the Drapers but also unto the whole Towne of Bristowe and to all the contrey about us, by reason of the scarcetie of ffishe and derenesse of the same ffor whereas in tymes past all strangers ffishermen were wont to resorte to this Towne from Myghelmas untill Candelmas at all tymes when wynd and wether dyd serve them, and so to make their markett and retourne of the same, and nowe though a ballyngar of Irlonde be laden with ffishe in Irlond at Myghelmas yet they will not come into thise parties but agaynst the ffayre and so somtymes wynd and wether will not serve at that very tyme, so that they cannot come at all but resorteth unto France and Spayne wheras wynd and wether do serve them, by reason wherof it causeth here in Bristowe to be scarcete and also to be very dere to the great hyndrance of the whole Commons of this Towne of Bristowe.

[Here follow 19 signatures.]

The Complaynt of the Mercers ffishemongers and Skinners of Bristowe agaynst Candelmas ffayre

Wheras we resorte to London and there we bestowe great substance of money upon silke and lynyn clothe and so bryng it whome, trustyng to gett some money towardes a parte of our lyvyng by hit; Then comyth downe to Bristowe Londoners and other mercers strangers with sylks and

lynyn clothe to the same ffayre and there make sales therof and do lend their wares from ffayre to ffayre, so that by that meanes they take away our lyvyngs, so that we cannot sell our wares for them, which is and will be if this ffayre shuld contyne, to our utter undoyng, and for our lyvyng it were moche better to have no ffayre then to have any, ffor by us mercers and by other occupations of this Towne as merchaunts grocers haberdasshers drapers ffishemongers and cappers this Towne is chiefly meynteyned and by noone other, and if the same occupacions do fayle then fare well at the worship of this Towne of Bristowe.

[Here follow 48 signatures.]

The Complaynt of the Merchaunts of Bristowe against the ffayre of Candelmas

Fyrst the said merchaunts and owners of shippes of Bristowe do say that the contynuance of the said ffayre shall be the utter distruccion and decay of the navy of the said Towne, by reason that all strangers of the parties of beyond the sea do resorte with their shippes and ballyngars unto the said Towne purposly to serve the same ffayre, to thentent the merchaunts strangers may by and sell with other strangers and fforeners by the libertie of the said ffayre so freely, So that we the merchaunts of the said Towne can have no suche utterance of the merchandizes which we bryng whome in oure owne shippis as we used to have in suche tyme before the said ffayre was purchased. By reason wherof wheras our great shippis used to make ij or iij viages in the yere nowe scarcely we make with them oon viage in the yere so that for lak of utterance of our merchandizes we shall be compelled and constrayned to give over our great shippes and to use ballyngars and suche other small vessells to the utter decay of the navy of the said Towne, and when that the navy decayeth and mynysshith then decayeth the merchaunts, consequently when the merchaunts fayleth or decayeth then decayeth the whole comons of the said Towne, ffor by the trade of merchandizes and by merchaunts ar menteyned wevers, towkers, shermen, dyers, an infynyte nombre of pore people as spynners and carders for the mayntenance of cloth makyng within the said Towne, besides this the baker bruer and bochour have dayly con-

venyent lyvyng for the provision of vitalls for the said shippes, and also there be no small nombre of maryners the which all their lyvyng do depende upon the navigacion of the fflete of this Towne as it is well knowen. And those that be the suters for the mayntenance of the said ffayre be towkers wevers and vitaillers who for to sell vitailles by the space of viij days in the ffaire tyme to a small profett (as God knoweth) do not consyder that all the yere after they have their lyvyng by the merchaunts abovesaid, so that if the said ffayre have contynuance it shall be the utter undoyng to the said towkers and wevers as by their impoverishyng dayly do appere, ffor that in tymes past they were men of habilitie and of good substance alweis redy to pay unto our soveraign Lord the Kyng their porcion of suche charges as this Towne have byn appoynted to pay and nowe they be hable very lytle or nothyng

Also all other occupiers the which have none other lyvyng but oonly biyng and selling within this Towne do saye that the contynuance of this ffayre at Candelmas will be also to their utter undoyng, by reason that where in tymes past before the said ffayre was used all maner of strangers dyd resorte with their shippes and ballyngars to this Towne at all tymes in the yere in suche wise that at their handes they bought their wares and merchandises of the strangers at suche a reasonable prise that they myght sell the same agayn to the naturalls of this land at suche tymes when they resorted to this Towne at a convenyent prise and havyng a sufficient gaynes by the same towardes their lyvyng, which trade was comonly every moneth in the yere wheras nowe by reason of this ffayre as well the strangers sellers as the stranger byer do appoynt to mete at the said ffayre and then bargayneth together to the utter undoyng of the occupiers of this Towne, and though the said strangers do com to this Towne with their wares and merchandizes a moneth or ij before the said ffayre begyn then they do putt up and house their said merchandizes in the comon hall appoynted and by no meanes will make any sale therof to the Inhabytants of this Towne, but kepe it untill the ffayre for their owne syngler advantage, the which in contynuance will be the utter undoyng and distruction of the said Towne of Bristowe for ever The which we pray God defend.

[Here follow 40 names, apparently all merchants, in 3

columns, and 11 others, who were "tockars shermen and wevars."]

The names of the Councell of the Towne of Bristowe which upon thexamynacion of the good occupiers merchaunts and others abovenamed craftsmen, which thynketh mete the said ffayre holden at the ffeest of the Purificacion of our Lady to be extynquyshed and utterly to be dissolved.

(Signed)

By me William Shipman late Meyre
By me William Chester late Meyer
By me Thomas Gefferis late Meyer
By me Jno. Spryng late Meyre
By me Robert Elyott late Meyre

by me William Balard Sheryffe
by me William Pepwall Sheryffe
Per me Wylliam Rowley late Shreve
by me Rowland Cowper late Shref
Per me John Mauncell late Schereff
Per me Wyllyam Pyke late Scheryfe
by me John Repe late Shrif
by me Gilbert Cogan late Shrif
by me Will'm Kelke late Shrif
by me Robert Adamps late Shriff
by me John Smythe late Shrif
Anthony Payne late Shrif
by me John Northall late Shrif
by me Thomas More late Shrif
David Harrys late Shrif
by me Richard Morse late Shrif
Per me Robert Sexcy late Shrif

By me Harry Whyt Mayar
Per me David Brooke Recordator
By me Rychard Abyntton Alderman
By me Regyr Coke Aldyrman
Be my Rychrd Tonell Alderman
Per Thomam Pacy Aldyrman
Per me Clement Base Aldyrman

per me Nych'as Wudhouse late Shrif
per me Robert Adams late Shrif
per me John Gervys late Shrif
by me Wyllyam Yonge late Scheryffe
by me John Thorne laytt Scharaff
by me Robt Salbrige late Shrif
by me Nycholas Thorne late Shrif
by me Thomas Sylke late Shrif
by me Will'm Cary late Shrif
by me Will'm Aphowelle late Shrif
by me John Brampton late Shrif
by me Richard Pryn late Shrif
Per me Will'm Jay late Shrif
by me Will'm Sprat late Shrif
Per me Richard Watley late Shrif

Label for Seal, but no remains of it.

The precise period to which the occurrences above stated are to be assigned, appears to be A.D. 1542-3, the year when Harry Whyte served the office of mayor in the city of Bristol. He died at the close of the term of his mayoralty. No complete list of the municipal authorities of Bristol has hitherto been published. The information by which I have been enablcd to ascertain the exact date of the foregoing documents, is due to the kindness of one of the most zealous and successful investigators of the ancient history of Bristol, Mr. Thomas Garrard, chamberlain of that city, to whose obliging attentions the Institute were greatly indebted on the occasion of their recent visit.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE MAYOR OF BRISTOL BY INHABITANTS OF BRISTOL, 16 EDWARD. II.

The following document consists of complaints made against Richard Tilley, for misconduct in the execution of his duty as Mayor. In consequence of these complaints a Commission of oyer and terminer was issued under the great seal, to Henry Spigurnel and others, under which proceedings took place at Bristol early in the 17th year of Edward II. This document may therefore be assigned to the preceding year. The allegations it contains against the Mayor are:—

That having been appointed a collector of a fifteenth, he had retained to his own uses forty marks of the proceeds of that collection.

That he had altered the rolls of other taxors, which were delivered to his keeping, by overcharging the amounts to be levied upon those who were opposed to him, and by favouring, or wholly absolving from payment those who were his friends.

That he had permitted foreign merchants to become burgesses, on purpose to support him in his office, and to re-elect him.

That he had proceeded against foreigners for infringing the franchise, and punished them at pleasure, though such jurisdiction belonged only to the Constable; and had also taken fines of wine and money from burgesses for offences, the correction of which belonged only to the said Constable.

That, finding the commonalty wished to elect another Mayor in his place, in consequence of his doings, he hastily, before the day of election (St. Michael's day) in the 15th year of the King, went to the King, who was then in the Isle of Thanet, and informed him that there were many people in the said town on whom the King could not trust, and so estranged the King's heart from them; he thereby

obtained writs requiring certain of the said town to appear before the King, and on his return to Bristol menaced many persons therewith, telling them he had the King's warrant to do as he pleased with them, and so forced them to give him wines and money, and then ordered them to remain in their houses and he would protect them.

That, when the King was at Bristol Castle in the 14th year, he obtained a grant of tronage * and pesage,† and did not present petitions committed to him in favour of the town. Having obtained this grant, he so outrageously collected the said dues that merchants would not sell in the town; and of many he took their weights and scales as being forfeited.

That he had compelled certain inhabitants of the Marsh ‡ to come to his courts, and had maintained the privileges thereof against the Constable, though the King's ancestors had by charter permitted them to answer with the other burgesses.

That, whereas the good men of the town were by charter to elect a proper Mayor on St. Michael's day, and were assembled in the Guildhall for that purpose, the same Richard Tilley came with his ribald associates, whom he had received into the franchise to support him, accompanied with armed men, and there beat, imprisoned, and threatened with death the good men of the town, so that they dare not make free election that day; and then the said evildoers named the said Richard Tilley to the said office, for which he gave them presents, and afterwards levied the said presents upon the commonalty.

That he required a present from every ship and boat coming to the quay, in addition to what was given to the Constable.

These appear to have been the grounds for complaint as originally set out; but an additional membrane was attached, containing fresh grievances, or elaborations of those already recited. It commences with a detailed statement in aggravation of the first charge as to the unfair collection of the fifteenth. It then proceeds:—

That the said Richard Tilley, having to punish the bakers who had broken the assize of bread, he had put

* A custom or toll for weighing wool. † The like for other merchandise.
‡ The district of Redcliffe.

the poor in the pillory and released those who could pay him fines.

That, whereas the good men of the town used to go to the castle, and there have honourable and friendly converse with the Constable and his lieutenants, the said Richard Tilley being enraged thereat, indicted and otherwise annoyed many of the said inhabitants for going there.

That he had housed many merchants so that their goods did not pay custom.

That he had made presents to those who would retain him in office, and compelled the commonalty to repay him, alleging that he had incurred expenses for the good of the town.

That he had dealt in wines and victuals while having the assize thereof, contrary to the Ordinance.

And so the King, the town, and the Constable were very grievously wronged and injured.

But it is in the language of the original that these complaints should be examined, for an abstract can give no idea of their terseness and particularity.

The inquiry into the conduct of the Mayor of Bristol to which these proceedings relate, had some connection with the events of the unhappy reign in which it occurred. Bristol had been the scene of the sad parting between the King and Gaveston, when Ireland was assigned as the favourite's first place of shelter from the Barons in 1308; its political importance was considerably increased by the younger Spenser's acquisition of his large property by marrying one of the co-heiresses of the Earl of Gloucester, and whose proceedings in connection with it raised the storm which, terminating in the battle of Boroughbridge, exhibited to the inhabitants of Bristol the ignominious execution of two of the Earl of Lancaster's adherents. And the final overthrow of the last favourite's powers was caused by the defection of the garrison of Bristol in 1326. But also in the year 1316, a serious disturbance, which was probably unconnected with political affairs, occurred there. Such an opposition was offered to the execution of legal process by the sheriff,* that when at last (having been

* The original letters patent, directing all bailiffs and others to assist Aymer de Valence, and those appointed to examine into this matter, is in the Chapter House. The process was one of outlawry, issued against John le Taverner and others for the murder of Alexander de Villers in Bristol.

twice repulsed) he came with his "*posse comitatus*," he found the gates shut against him, "and the whole commonalty, with a multitude of evil-doers '*tam Baionenses quam Wallenses*' prepared to levy war against the King; they had almost dried up the ditch of the Castle; had destroyed the Castle mill, and made a ditch in the town before the Castle gate, twenty-four feet wide and deep, and fortified the same with a strong Peel; they had raised standards, and put up springalds, chains, and other engines of war to conquer the Castle, and then intended to keep the town against the King." But the townsmen did not long hold out, and a fine of 2,000 marks was paid to the King for release from his anger for acts done "since the fifth year of the reign." *

The complainants in the charges made against the Mayor were avowedly the partisans of the Constable of the Castle. This was no other than the younger Spenser himself, to whom the custody both of the town and castle was committed after the defeat of the Lancastrian rebellion.† His first proceeding was to enlarge and strengthen the Castle itself,‡ and finding, doubtless, that the profits of his office were affected by the administration of the Mayor,§ who, belonging to the Baronial party, ‖ had exerted himself to thwart the attempts admitted to have been openly made by the Constable to increase his influence in the town, his authority was most probably exercised in promoting the charges now brought under notice, and prosecuting them to judgment.

* Abb. Rot. Orig. i. 235.

† It had previously been in the charge of Bartholomew de Badelesmere, a prominent member of the baronial party. It was the gross ill-treatment of the Queen before this baron's castle in Kent, that proved so fortunate an event for the royal party, turning for a time the popular feeling in favour of the King, and enabling him to concert a successful attack upon the barons under colour of avenging a personal insult.

‡ The accounts of these repairs are now in the Queen's Remembrancer's department at the Carlton Ride.

§ See Constable's Accounts, at the Carlton Ride. He appears to have received profits from the farm of the street where the market was held, small tolls on herrings and other provisions, customs of cloths, and other articles of merchandise.

‖ Richard Tilley had been bail for the prior of Lanthony, an adherent of the Earl of Hereford. (Parl. Writs, ii. div. iii. 1512.) And in the 18th year of the reign he was again security for the behaviour of a discharged adherent of the Earl of Lancaster. (Ib.) There were several individuals of the name in divers counties, one of whom, Thomas Tilley, was a merchant empowered to purchase the forced levy of wools in Somerset and Dorset. (25 Edward I., Parl. Writs, i. 865.) And Henry Tilley, a knight of the shire for Huntingdon, was the first-named of the justices appointed to go to Bristol, to try and sentence these adherents of the Earl of Lancaster, from whose execution and the miracles said to have been performed by their bodies, certain charges were made against Richard Tilley the mayor.

Disorganised as the whole system of government must then have been, no attempts were made to check the corruption that had again impaired the administration of justice,* though many of the King's officers in the provinces did not entirely escape.

Commissions of general inquiry into the conduct of taxors and collectors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and others who had the duty of levying the various charges upon property, were issued in the 12th and 14th years of the reign. Another was also issued in the 17th year, and the roll of the pleadings taken before the Commissioners so appointed for the county of Gloucester is in existence.† These commissions were said to be issued in consequence of the "false imprisonments, indictments, heavy redemptions, intolerable distresses for unjust causes, and other extortions in money and goods," alleged to have been imposed upon the people. The complaints made against the Mayor of Bristol may be considered as an example of these charges, affected however by the local circumstances previously referred to. The roll of pleadings, taken before the Justices assigned to inquire into these particular charges, is also in existence;‡ and an examination shows that the prosecutors succeeded in establishing a considerable proportion of their complaints. The jury impanelled upon the occasion affirmed that the said Richard Tilley had received strangers as burgesses without payment, that they should assist in his election as Mayor—that he had taken fines of certain bakers sentenced to the pillory—that he had housed foreign merchants, and so the King had lost custom—that he had impeded the election of Mayor, and that he had improperly taken 24*l.* belonging to the commonalty. To some complaints he did not answer, and of others he was acquitted. It is evident that the charges most pressed related to municipal affairs. The allegation of unfairness in taxing his opponents does not seem to have been established; it was one to which all such officers were, and had always been exposed; easy to make, but difficult to prove.

The result was that the Mayor was certainly imprisoned; but he seems to have compounded for his misdeeds by paying a fine of 40*l.* to the King; and in the case of the

* Foss's Judges of England, iii. 205. † Now at the Carlton Ride.
‡ Also at the Carlton Ride.

municipal 24*l.*, six times the amount was to be recovered. Forty marks damages were also adjudged to various persons who were imprisoned for being present where Montfort was hung. The favour with which the exertions of the Earl of Lancaster against the King's favourites had been viewed by the people at large and the clergy, was extended to his adherents. As in the case of the Earl, miracles were said to have been performed at the place where Henry de Montfort, Henry de Wylington, and other rebels, had been hung at Berton, nigh Bristol.* A strange portion of the proceedings against the Mayor seems to have been his prosecution by the King's attorney, for maliciously imprisoning Robert le Roo and Peter, for ministering to those who came to worship there. He was saved from a conviction by the production of letters under the King's privy seal, directing him to do all in his power to hinder those proceedings, which were a great scandal to the King. But in another case a conviction was obtained.

It would be highly interesting to trace the results of these proceedings upon the City of Bristol itself, if such were possible.

JOSEPH BURTT.

A. Cestes sunt parties des grevaunces que Richard Tilloy Meyre de Bristut ad fait en meisme la ville

Vocatur recordum quod inde finem facit coram H.†

Par là, au Richard Tilloy feust esleu Meyre de la ville de Bristut et par son serment chargé pur le profit et la franchise de la ville meintenir à son p . . . .‡ et sur ce pur ses custages prent de la commune par an une certeyne summe de deners. Et nadgeres que le quinze dener feut graunté à nostre seignur le Roi en la dite ville. Et pur la dite quinzyme furent ordenéz taxours et cuillours, les queux lour office au profit nostre seignur le Roi loiaument firent, et les deners de ce levéz entierement baillerent au dit Richard. Et il aprochea Sire Richard de Wotton clerk del Eschekere et ove li fit une . . . . de sessaunte et cynk livres dargent pur la quinzyme avantdite, dont il fesoit le paiement et retynt à son

* In Fœd. II. pt. i. pp. 536-547, are precepts directing proceedings against those worshipping and assembling at Berton. These are subsequent to the proceedings against the Mayor.

† In a different hand to the text. It refers to the pleadings alluded to in the introduction.

‡ (poair ?)

profit demeigne, tout le surplusage de la quillette avant dite que amonta xl. marcs et plus, encontre son serment, et as griefs damages du Roi et au damage de tote la communauté avantdite.

B. Estre ce, quant diverses taillages unt esté grauntéz à nostre seignur le Roi en la dite ville, et pur diverses dettes et charges de la dite ville paier soient faits certeynes gentz taxours qie unt esté esleux et juréz à loiaument chequn homme de la ville selom la quantité de ses chateux et biens taxer, et puis le roule du tax unt au dit Richard liveré, dont il de sa volente demeygne ad fait encrestre les taillages de plousurs à qi il estoit mauvoillant, et as autres ses bienvoillantz, lour taillages amenuses, et par les roules issint chaungéz ad liveré as cuillours pur les taillages lever. Et puisque les cuillours unt destreint les uns des bienvoillantz le dit Richard pur le taillage lever et lour office faire, là vient le dit Richard as plousours comande lour destresces deliverer et as plousours fait final pardoun, à graunt damage de la commune avantdite, et ce suete ad il fait as plusours pur lour voiz et lour assent avoir pur demorir en loffice de Meyre, au graunt damage du Roi.

C. Et plusours marchantz estranges qi font lour custumes au Roi par lour marchandises et auxi plousours autres estrangers ribaudz de male . . . . . riens ne unt il les resceyt en la franchise et les fait Burgeys par sa auctorite demeygne, pur li autre foiz eslire et meyntenir en loffice de Meyre, entollaunt lavantage de les custumes nostre seignur le Roi et due eslection de Meyre, contre son serment, et en blemissement de la franchise et au damage du Roi et grevance de la ville avantdite.

Estre ce, par grevouses destresses sovent fait venir devant li en la Gilhale plusours gentz estranges, et les fait aresner qil unt gryevement mespris contre la franchise à commun damage par là ou il nule jurisdiccion nad mes tout apental office de Conestable, dont les uns se mettent en enqueste et trovéz sont coupables et les autres sovente foiz atteintz par defaute de lour loi gagée, des queux il prent amendes à sa volente et ascuns diverses fyns font son gree, les queux il receyt tout à son profit demeigne, au graunt damage du Roi et du Conestable et à graunt charge et damage du commun poeple, par quoi plousours marchantz se esloignent et se doutent de illuques venir ove lour marchandises par les

grevances avantdites . . . . entissement de la ville avantdite.

Estre ce, par là, ou le Conestable ad plenere jurisdiccion et conissance de touz trespas, sovente fois le dit Meyre devant li en la Gilhale tient divers pletz, et plusours Burgeys de la dite ville fait aresner et lur surmet qil unt mespris contre lui et contre la franchise et qil unt . . . . desavenantes devers sa personne, dont par sa graunde escotye à due aquitance ne poent avenir et issi est il meismes partie et justice en sa presence demeigne et prynt de eaux fynz et amerciementz et les uns fait mettre en dure et forte prison, tant qil eient fait gree à son pleisir. Et des uns prent toneux de vyn à sa eslite demeigne, et des uns deux pipes de vyn et des plusours autres de chequn une pipe et des chesquns c. s. dargent et des uns xl. s. et de asqun un mark, au graunt damage nostre seignur le Roi et en blemissment de la jurisdiction lavantdit Conestable, et à graunt charge et destruction du poeple.

Estre ce, sovente foiz en la Gilhale pur une defaute, que un Burgoys fait de ce qil ne vyent à sa somonse quant il tient ses pletz . . . mentz et autres pleez; il le amercie en. xl. deners et asquns à plus, les queux, il fait lever, à son profit demeigne, au grievef damage du Roi et du Conestable, et à graunt destruccion du poeple avantdit.

D. Estre ce, par là, ou le dit Richard feut aparceu que par divers damages et grevances, qil avoit fait la Commune voloit un autre eslire al office de Meyre; hastivement devant la feste Seynt Michael jour de eleccioun du Meyre en lan du regne nostre Seignur le Roi Edward que ore est quinzyme le dit Richard aprochea nostre Seignur le Roi en lysle de Tanet et li fit entendant qil ne poait sauvement afier en plousours gentz de la dite ville, en alloignant le quer le seignur de ses liges gentz, par quele suggestioun il purchacea illuques plusours briefs de la targe (?) as plousurs bone gentz de la dite ville, que hastivement veu le comandement des ditz briefs totes autres choses lessées venissent au Roi . . . en Engleterre, dont le dit Meire à son revenir à Bristut par colour des ditz briefs manacea plusurs bone gentz de la dite ville et lour intendant qil avoit suffisant garant du Roi de eaux amener et mettre à sa volente, dount pur le graunt affray qe eaux eurent de lescotye . . . . ces avantdites, et pur doute denprisonement damages que grevances que le

dit Richard lur fyt, severaument firent lour fyns et raunceouns pur deux toneux de vyn pris de xij. mars, et ascuns pur plus, et ascuns pur c. s. dargent et puis les comanda à demorir à lostel en son poair et qil les sauvereit sans damage, les queux fyns et raunceouns il ad resceu, à graunt destructioun du poeple et damage nostre seignur le Roi.

E. Estre ce, à la Pasche quant nostre seignur le Roi feut à son Chastel de Bristut en lan de son regne quatorzysme, certeynes peticions furent ordonéz pur commun profit et liveréz au dit Richard pur faire la priére à nostre seignur le Roi que de sa grace les voloit comander, par là le dit Richard pur son profit demeigne pria au Roi et purchacea Tronage et Peysage de la ville de Bristut sanz rien parler de les communes peticiouns, les quels Tronage et Peysage il prent et cuille outrageousment de touz marchantz passantz par la dite ville tout ne soient lour marchandises en la dite ville mises à vente ne vendues. Et des plousurs il prent lour poys, balances, et auncels et dit qil soient forfait à lui et issent cleyme forfait et roial poair, en desheritance du Roi, par quoi plusurs marchantz estranges se esloignent, dont les custumes et les profitz . . . meyndres qil ne soloient estre par tieux extorciouns, et plusurs autres purprises sur le Roi par le dit Richard faitz, à grief damage du Roi et destruction de sa ville avantdite.

Estre ce, là ou les progenitours nostre seignur le Roi unt graunté par lour chartres as touz ses burgoys meynantz en le Maroys de la dite ville destre entendantz et responantz là ou ses autres comburgoys de sa dite ville respounent et nemye aillours, et les chartres en Eyre des Justices alloués, là vient le dit Richard par colour de rentes qil ad en le dit Maroys purcheacé del feffement William Arthur et cleyme franchise avoir et par attachmentz et destresces fait plusurs bone gentz à sa curt venir, et prent fyns et amerciementz ou son feffour nule Curt navoit ne nule curt illuques ne tynt.

F. Estre ce, il chalange avoir ses Curtz hors de Tunderye de tote manère des contractz et trespas faiz deyns le lieu, ou il ad les dites rentes purcheacés, et dit que la jurisdiccioun appent à lui et nemye au Conestable, à desheritance du Roi et commun damage de la dite ville.

G. Estre ce, par là, ou les bone gentz de la dite ville par diverses chartres des franchises par les progenitours nostre seignur le Roi à eux grauntéz chequn an duement eslire un

profitable Meyre pur qi eux voloient respondre, et ore le jour de Seint Michel prochein passé furent assembléz en la Gilhale de due electioun faire, là vynt le dit Richard Tilly ove plusurs ribaudz de male fame les queux il ad resceu en la franchise pur li meintenir ove autres mesfessours et gentz armées, et en la Gilhale entrerunt et ascunes bone gentz batirent et ascuns mistrent en dure prisoun, e les autres manascerent de morir, si eux autre Meire elussent que le dit Richard, pur quoi les bone gentz de la dite ville due ne franche electioun ne osasent faire à la journée, mes en graunt doute se tyndrent en pees sanz nul nomer ou eslire al office de Meire, dount les ditz mesfessours ensemblement ove autres estrangez procuréz illuques venir pur noise faire et crier, nomerement le dit Richard al office de Meire. Et pur ce que . . . . queux la ville est meyntenue ne voloient assentir à li il procura issi, à monsieur Richard de Rodenoye adonque tenaunt leu le Senescall . . . . dona x. mars dargent et un tonel de vyn pris de cynk mars. Et puis dona à Sire Johan de Donestaple xl. s. pur li receyvire pur Meire, pur queux dons les ditz messieurs Richard et Johan de Donestaple rescevrent le dit Richard al office de Meyre et recevrent son serment, dont meintenant apres qil feut receu il fit aresner plusurs bone gentz que nassentirent point à sa eleccioun et les mist en prison et plusurs à grief rauncoun, e puis par grevouses destresces les ad fait lever et receu à son profit demeigne, et par les avantditz dons qil dona à Sire Richard de Rodeneye et Johan de Donestaple il ad fait lever chequn dener de la commune, et lour ad surmys qil les dona pur commun profit là ou il les dona pur . . . . demeigne, à grief damage du Roi et à graunt anientissement de la ville avantdite.

Estre ce, par là ou tote manére de jurisdictioun de la . . . . . pur colour del kayage et panage que le Roi a graunté en aide de sa dite ville et ad ordené un baillif portant une verge en . . . . . comandement le dit Richard entre en chequne neef et batel que viegnent à la kaye et les marchantz et mariniers amoveste, ... tote manere des vitailles dont les dites neefs et bateux sont chargés un covenable present au meire envoier et sanz . . . . il . . . . primer descharge ce faire ne vuillent, il lur manasse de forfaitures et dautres enchesons estre entagléz devant le Meire de queux ils ne

purront eschaper, ne ne deyvent sans damage, dont les marchantz et les mariners de les dites neefs pur les meschiefs eschaper . . . devant ces houres soloient presentz de diverses vitailles au lieutenant le Conestable du Chastiel envoier, et plusurs autres . . . à eux faire ore de ce se retreent et cessent de profit à eux faire pur le graunt charge des presentz qil fount au Meyre, à graunt damage du Conestable et grevouse charge des marchantz et mariners avant ditz.

(Mem. 2.) A. Estre ce, là ou le sysme dener feut granté à nostre seignur le Roi qore est des Citez et Burghs lan de son regne sesyzme et par briefs retornables . . . . baillifs de la franchise de Bristut feut comandé tote les gentz deynz la precencte de la dite franchise loiaument taxer et tout le tax loiaument par bones gentz et loiaux au profit le Roi cuiller, par vertu del dit mandement certeine gentz furent esleux taxours et par lour serment chargé de loiaument chequn home de la franchise solom la porcioun de ses biens et chateux taxer, les queux issint firent, et puis lour roules au Meyre par les baillifs liverèrent, dont le dit Meire prist une doszeyne de sa covine par queux il fait enditer ceaux vers qi il ad grossur de cuer et les . . . . cuillurs del sisme dener avantdit et puis fit changer les roules les taxours en acressaunt la summe du tax sur les nouns devers . . . . il estoit mauvoillaunt et amenusaunt la summe de cheux, vers queux il estoit bienvoillant, et son noun demeigne et plusurs autres ousta il . . . . neet et les nouns des asquns que rien ne paierent fit mettre en roule entre ceux que furent taxés et paierunt. Et puis prist parti de summe de ceaux que furent taxéz et paierent et le mist sus les nouns de ceaux que reins ne paierent, en supposant que ceaux de taxours ne ussent paiéz là ou unqes rein ne paierent, dont fut cuilli des gentz de la ville cent livres et plus plusque namonterent les roules du tax liveréz a Lescheqere nostre seignur le Roi par les chief taxours del Counte, les queux c. li. et plus del surplusage avantdite fut departiz entre le Meire et les Cuillurs de sa covyne, au grievef damage du Roi et des gentz de la ville avantdite.

E. Estre ce, là ou le Conestable ad jurisdiccioun del assise de payn et les pestours qil trovera cupables que unt offendu lassise par usage de la ville les fait liverer au Meire au perfurner le jugement de pillory et pleynement lexecucioun de

ce faire, là vient le dit Meire puis que les corps des pestours li sont liveréz come atteyntz davoir lour jugement de pillory; et les uns que sont povres, le met à jugement de pillory, et les autres par divers fyns suffre aler à large sanz nule execucioun de ce à eux faire, à graunt damage du Roi et blemissement al office du Conestable avantdit.

Estre ce, par là ou ascunes bone gentz de la ville soloient venir au Chastel et illuqes ove les lieu tenantz le Conestable parler et les honurer pur amisté norir entre le Conestable et ses lieu tenantz et les bone gentz de la ville, là vient le dit Richard Tilly de ce eyaunt graunt indignacioun par le consail Johan le Taverner, Robert de Holhurst, Clement Turcle, Robert Martyn, William Chaumflour et autres xij. hommes de sa covyne que prests sunt, as ses comandementz de plousurs bones gentz vers queux il ad aqune indignacioun, de diverse mavoite enditer et querent enchesons parpensement, par malice de grever les ditz bone gentz et les fait aresoner devant li et lur met sure qil unt esté au Chastel, et illuques à les lieutenantz, le Conestable, son consail et le consail de la ville contre lur surment unt descovert et nul reppouns covenable ne veut accepter, eynz les tient come atteyntz de fauseté et ascuns par meismes les enchesons met à grevouse ranceoun et les fait lever à son oeps demeigne par quoi plusurs gentz se doutent grauntment nul avantage, honur, ou profit fere as ceaux du Chastel ne par les graunt escoties, extorciouns et mesprises le commune profit de la ville ordener, ne meyntener.

Estre ce, par là ou tote manère des custumes sont appendantz al Office de Conestable et plusurs marchantz estranges de Amyas viegnent à la dite ville de Bristut ove Waide et autres mers et marchandies, et sont herbergés ove lour meers et marchandies à la meson Richard Tilly, dont le dit Richard avowe les mers et marchandies de les marchantz estranges à sa meson herbergés par les suens propres et come son chatel demeigne entollant la custume de meismes les marchandies dues au Roi et les forfaitures dues auxi au Roi par la reson de nouncustume par lavowerie le dit Richard concelés et desturbées, au graunt damage du Roi et encontre loffice le Conestable avantdit.

Estre ce, par là ou le dit Richard doune les graunt dons et presentz par li meyntener en loffice de Meire, et auxi arks et arblasts et autres divers dons par amisté avoir en Court

et aillurs en pais, là vient le dit Richard as seneschaux de la ville Bristut que unt les deners de la Communauté de la dite ville en garde à les despendre pur commune profit, et le dit Richard lour fait entendant que il ad mis divers mises et custages par commune profit et par sa meistrie lour fait à li bailler de communes deners, totes maneres de mises, custages, presentz et autres despens qil meismes par son simple dit vodra dire qil ad despendu, et issi le dit Richard se fait large et avance ses busoignes demeygne des communes biens à son singuler profit, au graunt damage et empovrissement de la ville avantdite.

Èstre ce, par là, ou par commun consail Dengleterre feut ordené à Everwyk, que nul ministre en Cite nen Burgh qe par reson de office deut garder lassise des vyns et des vitailles tant come il serroit entendant à cel office ne marchander des vyns ne de vitailles en gros ne à retaille sur grieve forfaiture, là vient le dit Richard Meire et marchande des vyns et des vitailles en la dite ville, contre le ordenance del estatut avantdite, dont il meismes esteant en loffice de Meyr par la graunt doute que les gentz de la ville unt de lui nul tort ne poet estre trové en lui ne forfaiture au profit le Conestable à qi les forfaitures de la ville appendent ne poent estre levés, au graunt damage du Conestable avantdit.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATUE OF THE DYING GLADIATOR AT ROME.

Read at Bristol, August 1st, 1851.

BY JAMES YATES, ESQ., F.R.S.

My attention was some time ago recalled to the subject of this famous statue, by the following remarks of an able and intelligent traveller:—

"The fifth and last room in the Museo Capitolino is the Chamber of the Dying Gladiator, so called after the well-known *chef d'œuvre* of ancient Greece, which appears in the middle, a conspicuous and eminently beautiful object. It is only surprising, that the character of a figure now generally admitted to have been intended for a Gaul and not a gladiator, was so long mistaken by connoisseurs and antiquarians; since now, not only is the perfection of the sculpture generally esteemed identical with a period of art long antecedent to the introduction of gladiators, but the ligature round the neck, previously supposed to be an implement of disgrace, is unequivocally recognised as the honorary distinction of a *Gaul, the Torques.*"*

Sir George Head is, I believe, correct in this account of the prevalent opinion. So far as I have the means of knowing, antiquaries have now very generally adopted the hypothesis of Nibby, that this statue was executed in Greece, a considerable time before the Christian era, and was intended to represent a Gaul dying on the field of battle.

I propose to examine briefly the grounds of this opinion, and in so doing it is necessary to review the various theories advanced upon the subject.

* Sir George Head's *Rome*, Vol. II. p. 18.

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The original opinion, and that which I propose to defend, is expressed by the designation first given to this statue, "*The Dying Gladiator.*"* It was founded upon the shield on which he was lying, the sword, the bleeding wound in his side, his attitude, his drooping head, the painful despairing expression of his countenance, and the fact that gladiators were represented by sculpture, and that such representations were agreeable to the taste of the Romans under the empire. Maffei, the first who published any minute account of the statue, imagined the article upon the Gladiator's neck, resembling a halter, to be the noose which was used by the description of gladiators, called *laqueatores*, to catch and destroy their adversaries.†

In opposition to the hitherto received theory, Winckelmann, assuming that the statue was made in Greece and in the finest period of Greek art, asserted that it could not possibly be a gladiator, because at that period gladiatorial combats were quite unknown to the Greeks. He maintained that the dying man is a herald: he produced from the Greek mythology some examples of heralds who might be specially intended, and he endeavoured to show that both a cord round the neck and a horn such as that on the plinth of the statue, might have been used by a herald, whereas the horn could never have been worn by a gladiator.‡ Notwithstanding the great authority of this eminent critic, his explanations of the adjuncts of the statue have not obtained currency; but later writers, though they do not follow Winckelmann in supposing a herald to be meant, nevertheless agree with him in regard to the age and country of the statue.

An important light was thrown upon the subject by M. Mongez in the second volume of the *Mémoires de l'Institut*. He proves that the statue represents a dying barbarian. He argues chiefly from the features of the countenance, which are not such as belong to the ideal beauty of Grecian art; from the hair, which is short and rather bristly; from the moustache on the upper lip, and from the article on the neck, which he showed to be not a cord or noose, but a collar. At the same time he asserted that the statue did not represent a gladiator, maintaining

* See note A. † See note B.

‡ *Histoire de l'Art, T. III.* pp. 41—45.

that this profession was too ignoble and degraded to be exhibited in sculpture.

Visconti follows in the track of Mongez. "The short and bristly hair," says he, "the moustache, the profile of the nose, the form of the eyebrow, and the kind of collar (*torques*), all concur to denote a barbarian warrior, perhaps a Gaul or German, mortally wounded and courageously expiring on the field of battle, which is covered with arms and martial instruments. The common opinion," he continues, "that this is a dying gladiator, has no positive foundation, and this statue has little conformity with the acknowledged statues of gladiators. The group erroneously called Pætus and Arria is analogous to this, and both sculptures probably served to decorate a monument set up in Rome, to exalt some conqueror of the Gauls or Germans, perhaps Cæsar or Germanicus."*

The last opinion which I have to mention is that of Professor Nibby, the same in substance as that which I have already stated in the words of Sir George Head. Nibby maintains that it is not the statue of a gladiator, but of a Gaul or Celt, and probably one of those employed in an unsuccessful expedition against Delphi; and he conjectures that it may have been the corner figure of a group which filled the tympanum of a pediment.† Our learned and accomplished colleague, Mr. Charles Newton, adopts the same view, at least in regard to the age of the statue.‡

Upon this point, the *age* of the statue, the decision of the main question, its *subject*, seems to depend; for the remark of Winckelmann is obviously true that, if the statue was made in Greece, and at a time when the more ancient Greeks had attained to the highest perfection in sculpture, or, to speak more precisely, in the third or fourth century before Christ, it cannot have represented a gladiator. Upon this question it would be presumptuous in me to speak with any certainty. But I believe I may state that some of the best judges of ancient art think that, under the empire, sculpture continued to be practised in such a high degree of excellence, that the so called "Dying Gladiator"

* See note C.

† See *Effemeridi Litterarie di Roma, Fascic.* 7. *April*, 1821; referred to in *Mus. Cap.* as already quoted.

‡ *Museum of Classical Antiquities, July*, 1851, pp. 214—216.

may certainly have been executed during that period. In regard to the "Macedonian period," as it is called, I may remark that we want authentic standards of comparison; for the Laocoon, and the so called Pætus and Arria, are subject to the same uncertainty as the "Dying Gladiator:" all these may be referred to the later date. On the other hand, we have much better means of judging of the state of the art in Rome, during the two or three first centuries after Christ. As far as I know, the age of the Antinous has not been disputed. The bas-reliefs on the Trajan and Antonine columns, and on not a few triumphal arches, prove that great attention was bestowed upon sculpture during this period. It is acknowledged that the artists excelled more especially in portrait or the exhibition of real life, and this seems the kind of excellence required to produce the "Dying Gladiator."* It is also well known that then, as much as ever before, the opulent Romans profusely adorned their houses, their gardens, and their sepulchres, with the best statues; that Greek sculptors still resorted to Rome; and that some of the emperors, especially Hadrian, encouraged the art in every possible way and with the most laudable munificence. On these grounds I am of opinion that the "Dying Gladiator" is not too good a work to have been produced under the empire.

If this point be conceded, I think the way is opened to the vindication of its old name, and to a clear and consistent account of the design of the sculptor in its execution.

I do not say that this statue represents a Gaul; because I think it as likely that it represents a Briton, a German, a Frank, a Batavian, a Belgian, a Goth, or a Dacian. But it certainly represents an individual belonging to one of those powerful nations which at the period in question were engaged in long and strenuous conflicts with the Romans. This I infer on the same grounds which I have already mentioned in stating the opinions of Mongez, Visconti, and Professor Nibby.

Now, that we may understand the conception of the sculptor in the execution of this statue, it is necessary for us to notice the condition and character of gladiators, and the sentiments of the Roman people in regard to them; and with this view I beg to quote a passage from a Latin

* See note D.

author little known, and not used by the writers on the amphitheatre, but affording, as it seems to me, very decisive and important information. The passage occurs in the panegyric pronounced before the emperor Constantine, at Trèves, by the courtly orator Eumenius. He is describing the devastation committed by Constantine in the north of Germany, and among other circumstances he relates the following:—"Puberes, qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia servituti, ad pœnas spectaculo dati, sævientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt."* Here is a reference to three distinct modes of disposing of captives. Either they were transferred to the Roman army, if they could be trusted as soldiers; or they were consigned to slavery, if their disposition was mild and tractable; or, if they had not these qualifications, their dreadful lot was to appear on the arena for the gratification of their conquerors. Here they were obliged either to contend with wild beasts, or with one another, in mortal conflict. The consequence of the adoption of this principle of selection was, that the bravest soldiers, the most ardent patriots, and the principal officers and noblemen of the conquered nations, were sometimes consigned to the training of the lanista. The same orator whom I have quoted, mentions two Frankish kings, Ascaric and Regaisus, who, as he says, were thus "punished for their crimes" (c. 11)†. Moreover, the Roman people regarded gladiators, thus qualified and selected, with the highest admiration. We read of one description of gladiators, who were especial favourites, and were called "essedarii." They derived their name from the essedum, a war chariot used by the Gauls. But such chariots could only have belonged to the chieftains. Although, therefore, there is in my opinion no proof that they appeared in their chariots on the arena, as many antiquaries have supposed, there can be no doubt, that they held a high rank in Gaul, their native country.

In the piece of sculpture which is the subject of the present inquiry, the torc, most clearly exhibited on the neck of the dying man, is a decisive indication of his rank. It was bestowed as an honour, and a sign of merit. It was made either of gold or bronze. I conceive the sculptor in the present instance to have had in view a *bronze* torc, and

* Duodecim Panegyrici Veteres, VI. 12. † See note E.

on this supposition it must have been identical in substance, and perhaps even identical in form with that fine example of this military decoration of the ancient Britons, which was found with two bronze celts, at no great distance from Bristol, which is described and figured in the Archæologia,* and which is at this very moment placed for inspection in our temporary museum.

But this, I apprehend, is not the only circumstance about our statue, which admits of explanation from the archæology of the north of Europe. The horn, which lies beneath the wounded man, has never been explained.† For I cannot accede to the loose remark of Visconti, that he is "expiring on the field of battle, *which is covered with "arms and martial instruments.*" We must suppose all the adjuncts of the statue to have had some special reference to the subject: they must have been intended to indicate who and what the individual was; and, if the sword, torc, and shield belonged to him, the horn must have belonged to him likewise. It may be remarked further, that the horn intended to be represented, was a *bronze* horn. Now, we have satisfactory proof, that such horns were used in battle by the Northern nations. Lucan speaks of the "cruel Batavi, whom harsh trumpets incited with *curved* bronze."

"Batavosque truces, quos ære recurvo
Stridentes acuere tubæ." *Pharsal.*, L. I. 431.

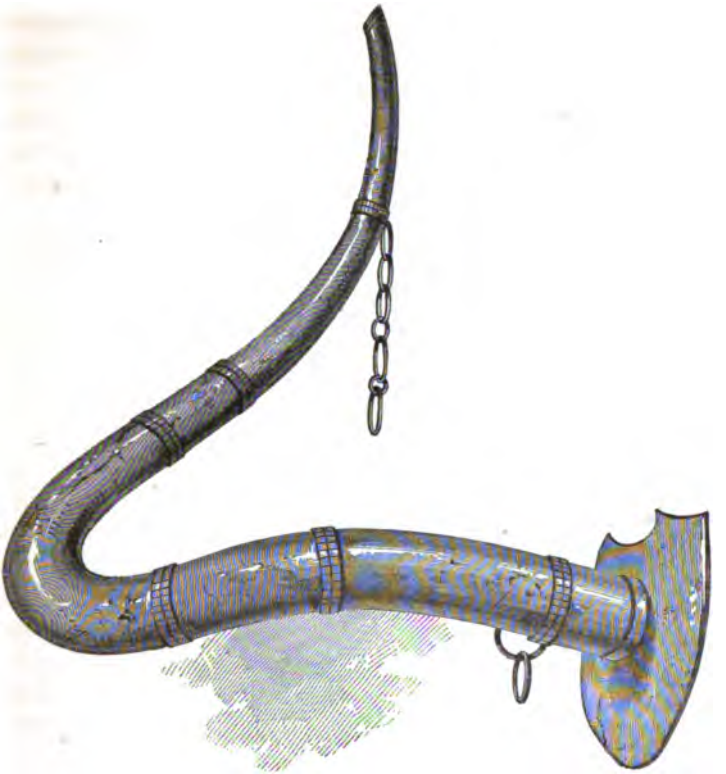
Still more decisive evidence is afforded by the discovery of these bronze horns in the tombs of ancient warriors, and in other situations thoughout the north of Germany, and in the adjoining countries. They are sometimes of great length, and formed so as to fit the body of the wearer and to be suspended over his shoulder. One of these singular horns, preserved in the museum at Copenhagen,‡ is represented in the Earl of Ellesmere's Guide to Northern Archæology (p. 52). Three are in the museum at Schwerin,§ and of that which is the most perfect I obtained the following dimensions and description:—Its length is 1 metre, 45 centimetres (= 1 yard, 21 in.). Its form (see the wood-cut) is such that, being hung by the chain over the right shoulder

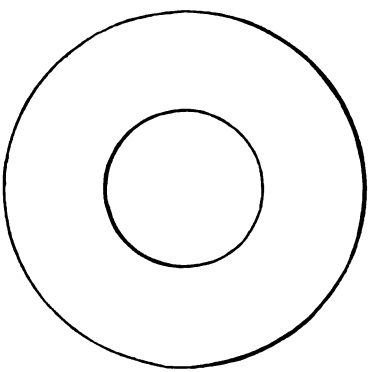
* See note F.

† See note G.

‡ There is a remarkable collection of bronze horns, some of great length, in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. These have not the flange at the mouth piece, which appears in the Schwerin horn.

§ Lisch, *Frederico Francisbeum*, p. 117, 118. Tab. *fig.* 3.





ACTUAL DIMENSIONS OF THE TWO APERTURES OF THE ABOVE BRONZE HORN AT SCHWERIN.

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of the wearer it passes close to his body behind his back and under his right arm, so as nearly to encircle his body. Mr. Lisch, the learned and zealous conservator of the museum, told me that these horns are found in the tombs of the bronze period; that they are in fact found in those tombs of the old Germans, which also contain torcs. When I heard these facts, and saw this fine instrument of ancient German warfare, it immediately suggested to me the solution of the only remaining difficulty respecting the accoutrements of the "Dying Gladiator."

Besides the trumpet (*tuba*), which was straight, the Romans also used to some extent the horn (*cornu*), which was curved. The soldier who used it, was called *cornicen;* and his business was to incite and lead on the troops to battle, and to give other signals at the command of the general. In rank he was greatly superior to a private, and that he was held in honour appears from various ancient monuments still in existence, which were set up in remembrance of *cornicines*.* Having proved, that the northern nations of Europe also used this instrument in battle, I think the inference seems inevitably to follow, that the dying warrior before us had been the *cornicen* of his native army. Thus the torc upon his neck denotes his rank and his merit; the horn, which has fallen broken from his body, denotes his office.†

It remains, that I should consider the subject of this statue, as indicated by the attitude of the dying man and the remarkable expression of his countenance. It appears to me that these do not favour the modern hypothesis. A fierce, bold, and determined warrior, even at the moment of death, would not have his eyes fixed upon the ground. His attitude would be of that kind which we see exhibited in this building, in the groups of the Ægina marbles, where there are fallen and dying warriors, but in a far different mood, looking round them to watch the course of the battle, sympathising with their friends and protectors, and placid even in approaching death.‡ That look of the "Dying Gladiator," which has now rivetted attention for more than three hundred years, tells a far deeper tragedy than the ordinary death of a soldier. It is that of a man absorbed

* Gruter, p. 571. 1106. † See note H.

‡ See note I.

in thought, of a brave and noble nature, deploring the hard fate to which he has been compelled to submit, and in sustaining which he has no friend or comforter.

The description of Lord Byron coincides so exactly with my own ideas, that I will take the liberty of quoting it, although familiar to my hearers :—

" He leans upon his hand. His manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low,
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him. He is gone
Ere ceased th' inhuman shout, which hail'd the wretch who won.

CXLI.

He heard it, but he heeded not. His eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away.
He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize;
But, where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother, he, their sire,
Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday;
All this rush'd with his blood. Shall he expire,
And unavenged?—Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire."

Childe Harold, IV. 140, 141.

It has often been remarked, that we owe no thanks to the man who robs us by his arguments of a beautiful illusion. I have endeavoured by a connected detail of probable evidence to show, that the old and popular theory is no illusion; that Michael Angelo, who is said to have restored the right arm; Clement XII., who purchased the statue at a great price, and placed it in the Capitol, and the Romans, who have ever since regarded it as the chief ornament of that edifice, did not misconceive its meaning. I have also endeavoured to give a clear connected account of the sculptor's intention, showing that it may be regarded as an entire piece, and not merely accessory to a group, and that all the parts and adjuncts of the statue conspire to represent an individual character, and to relate one deeply interesting tale.

JAMES YATES.

NOTES.

(A. *page* 100.)

Although we cannot tell where this statue was found, we are able, both on the ground of general tradition and from peculiar circumstances, to trace back the history of its discovery to the earlier part of the sixteenth century. At that period the celebrated artist Primaticcio was employed to decorate the palaces of Francis I. King of France. With the aid of the best judges of art in Italy he obtained moulds of some of the finest antiques. From these moulds he made among others the admirable bronze copy of the Dying Gladiator, which is now in the garden of the Tuileries at Paris. See Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture, Tome* I., and Monges, *Mémoire sur les Gladiateurs* in *Mémoires de l'Institut, Tome* II. p. 454. The first engraving of the statue was published by François Perrier in 1638. His representation appears to me to have great merit in regard to accuracy as well as expression. The only account, which he gives of it, is in these words:— "Mirmillo deficiens, in Hortis Ludovisianis." See his *Segmenta Nobiliorum Signorum, No.* 91. Why did he adopt the rare term *Mirmillo*, instead of the ordinary term *Gladiator?* It must have been, because the Gallic insignia of the wounded man had already excited attention; for all the lexicographers, following Festus (*s. v. Retiarius*), had explained *Mirmillo* to mean a *gladiator*, who was called a *Gaul* and wore the armour of a *Gaul*. Hence the reputed discovery of Monges, which I shall notice hereafter, appears to have been only the revival and establishment of the original explanation.

The statue is of Luna, or Italian marble.

(B. *page* 100.)

Rossi's *Raccolta di Statue, Roma*, 1704, *Tav.* 65. Maffei here advanced the conjecture, adopted by Montfaucon (*Ant. Espl. Tome III. Pl.* 155), and many other antiquaries, that the statue in question was the "vulneratus deficiens," mentioned by Pliny (XXXIV. 19) as the work of a sculptor named Ctesilaus. But the sculptor of whom Pliny speaks was not Ctesilaus, but Cresilas, the latter name being found in the best MSS.; and Professor Ludwig Ross, of Athens, has proved that the "vulneratus deficiens" of Cresilas could not have been this statue, but was the statue of a certain Diitrephes, the leader of a body of Thracian soldiers, who died pierced with arrows. See *Kritios, Nesiotes, Cresilas, lettre à Thiersch par M. Ross, Athènes*, 1839, pp. 9-12; and Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography, art. Cresilas.* Meyer supposes, not without reason, that the artist of the "Dying Gladiator" may have had the "vulneratus deficiens" of Cresilas in his view; *Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, I. 81.

(C. *page* 101.)

See *Il Museo Capitolino illustrato da M. Bottari*, &c. *Milano*, 1819-1821, 8vo. *T.* III. p. 67. Raoul-Rochette supports the same opinion in his *Nouvelles Observations sur la Statue du prétendu* Gladiateur mourant *du Capitole, et sur le Groupe dit d'Arria et Paetus de la Villa Ludovisi*, published in the Baron de Férussac's *Bulletin*, 7^me^ *Section, Tome* XV. *Paris*, 1830.

(D. *page* 102.)

"Die individuellen Züge des Kopfes," says Platner, "könnten ein Bildniss vermuthen lassen, und diesem individuellen Character entspricht auch die Bildung des Körpers." *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, von* Platner, Bunsen, Gerhard, *und* Röstell 3^ter^ *Band*, 4^tes^ *Buch*, 1837, p. 249. Platner agrees with Monges, Visconti, and Raoul-Rochette in regard to the age and design of the statue.

(E. *page* 103.)

In reference to the same events Eutropius (X. 3) says,

Constantinus * * * in Galliis et militum et provincialium ingenti jam favore regnabat, cæsis Francis atque Alemannis, captisque eorum regibus, quos etiam bestiis, cum magnificum spectaculum muneris parasset, objecit.

(F. *page* 104.)

Vol. XIV. p. 94. See *Archæological Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 380. A bronze torc seems best suited to the rank which I assign to the supposed Gladiator, viz., that of a *cornicen*. I also conceive that his horn was of bronze. This appears from its size and shape. If the sculptor had intended to represent a horn of any other substance, he would without fail have introduced the transverse bands of metal, which are used to unite the parts of real horns, so as to make them long enough.

(G. *page* 104.)

Heyne goes so far as to affirm, that it cannot be explained. He says, "The horn has no archæological meaning" (gar keinen antiquarischen Sinn). Hence he conjectures that it is a restoration. But this is one of the many errors which are to be found in his essay. (*Antiquarische Aufsätze, Leipzig*, 1779, Vol. II. p. 231.) The restored parts of the statue are the toes of both feet, the tip of the nose, the cap of the left knee, the right arm, and one end of the horn. The original portion of the horn is quite sufficient to prove that it was a horn, as it has always been supposed to be.

(H. *page* 105.)

Since this memoir was read at Bristol, the Rev. William Dyke, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, has visited Rome, and has done me the favour to examine the statue attentively, more especially with regard to the restorations of the plinth. He found that the extremity of the horn near the right foot, which must be supposed to have been the mouthpiece, had been broken off and renewed. The other extremity, he informs me, has a raised rim, which is original and unbroken. Its form is oval, *i. e.*, depressed. This consequently represented the mouth of the horn, or the orifice, from which the sound was emitted. It must have been considerably larger than the other orifice, and in the oldest engraving of the statue, viz., Perrier's, of which I have already spoken, it is so represented. See the

wood-cut. I may here observe, that twenty-five years ago I also examined this statue with some attention, and certainly with great admiration, and it then appeared to me, that the sculptor must have intended to represent a horn, which was worn *round the body*. It is moreover evident, that, if the Schwerin horn were broken as the horn is represented in the statue, it would lie on the ground almost exactly in the same way. It is however possible, that the artist may have supposed the combatant to have worn the horn in the way which was more common among the Romans, and which is represented in a painting found in the Amphitheatre at Pompeii. See Gell's *Pompeiana, London*, 1819. Plate 75. A gladiator is there exhibited blowing the horn as a challenge to his adversary. That a bronze trumpet of some kind was part of the apparatus of gladiators, and actually used as such in the public shows, is manifest from a Greek epitaph in honour of a Retiarius, who says, "*I now no longer hear the voice of the brazen trumpet.*" See Welcker, *Sylloge Inscrip. Græc.* pp. 58—67.

(I. *page* 105.)

This memoir was read in the Bristol Institution, which was erected from the designs of our great classical architect, C. R. Cockerell, Esq., and through his generosity possesses one of the three sets of casts made from the Ægina marbles soon after their discovery. For engravings of the statues, to which I have alluded, the reader is referred to Lyon's *Outlines of the Ægina Marbles, Liverpool*, 1829. Plates 3, 7, 12, 13, 16. Another very remarkable monument, which throws great light on the subject of the present inquiry, and strikingly confirms what I have said of the proper attitude for warriors expiring in battle, is the Amendola Sarcophagus, discovered some years since in the vicinity of Rome. In this marble bas-relief, "the style of which recalls the happy epoch of Trajan and his successors," there are five barbarian warriors, all wearing the torc, and bearing a most striking resemblance in many circumstances to the so-called Dying Gladiator. See the excellent memoir of M. Raoul-Rochette in the *Bulletin Universel*, referred to in the preceding note; and the account of the Amendola Sarcophagus by Professor Blackie, of Edinburgh, in the *Annali del Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, Vol. III. pp. 287—311, Roma, 1831, and in the *Monumenti Inediti, folio*, Vol. I. Nos. 30, 31.

ADDRESS ON THE OPENING OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SECTION AT BRISTOL, THURSDAY, 31ST JULY, 1851.

BY J. H. MARKLAND, D.C.L., F.R.S., S.A., PRESIDENT.

THE honourable position which I now occupy, has been conferred upon me by the partial kindness of my friends. My own wish was that this chair should have been filled by some other member of the Institute, far better qualified to discharge the duties of President than myself. The request of the central committee, thrice conveyed to me, scarcely left me an alternative but to obey their wishes, relying, as I do, upon your support and indulgence, and on the valuable assistance which I shall receive from my zealous and intelligent coadjutors.

Let me, in the first place, congratulate the Institute on being received so cordially by the citizens of this city, deservedly called by Lord Talbot on Tuesday "the second city in England;" and so termed by one of the most gifted of men, Edmund Burke, who, as its member, during an eventful period, reflected honour upon it, and who, as he stated, far preferred the representation of Bristol to any other in the kingdom.

Our venerable topographer, Leland, speaks of "Bristowe upon Avon as a greate cite," in his days "well walled, having a fair castle and eighteen parish churches within it." Of the beauty of some of the latter you may already have had the means of judging.

The early history of few cities in England is more deeply interesting and important than that of Bristol; and its "Memoirs" by Seyer, a faithful compiler from *original records*, vindicate its just claims to the attention of the antiquary. This, however, is a topic which will better fall

under the attention of the sections of History and Antiquities.

Its See, now merged in another—but let us hope, ere long, to be restored to its independence,—is comparatively of modern foundation; and though its Prelates are consequently not numerous, it numbers amongst them Secker and Butler, the illustrious author of the Analogy. Here both Cranmer and Latimer preached. Here the family of Sebastian Cabot dwelt; and it was from this port that he sailed in 1497, and returned as the discoverer of Newfoundland. When we speak of her merchant-princes, we call to mind the Canynges, who elevated the character of the "merchant-adventurer" by their integrity and public spirit, and by devoting a large portion of their wealth to good works. The church of Saint Mary Redcliffe, which owes much to these good men, still happily exists as one of the noblest monuments of piety in the land. The church itself, and the progress of the restorations which it is undergoing—for the citizens of Bristol appear duly to appreciate the treasure which they possess,—will be the subject of an interesting investigation, directed by one most intimately acquainted with its beauties and most competent to describe them—our associate Mr. Godwin.

The cathedral, though curtailed of its fair proportions, contains some fine parts. It is rich in excellent details, and deserves careful examination. The building in which we are now assembled—by the obliging permission of the Dean and Chapter—may, from its beauty, lead to some valuable remarks from members of this section.

When speaking of celebrated natives of this city, we should not omit a passing allusion to the philanthropist Colston, whose charities—not confined to Bristol—reached the abodes of misery and depression wherever found; regarding, as he beautifully observed, "every helpless widow as his wife, and her orphans as his children." Nor should we lastly forget the names of two Poets, to whom Bristol has given birth, though differing widely in their characters and pursuits, and in the application of the talents committed to them. In the case of Chatterton, short and evil were his days: let his extraordinary genius and his hard fate be alone remembered, whilst his faults and follies are forgotten. The antiquities which he described, and the legends which

were connected either with them or with individuals, creations of his own brain, would furnish indeed copious materials for apochryphal annals of Bristol. The poet laureate of his day, the other gifted individual referred to, died full of years and honour, having contributed largely to English literature; for few authors of the present age have written so much, and still fewer of any age have written so well. The citizens of Bristol record with conscious pride, in the adjoining cathedral, the name of their fellow-townsman "Southey."

To recur to our annual meeting: it cannot be questioned that the most beneficial results attend these periodical assemblies. To bring together men of kindred minds and feelings, hitherto strangers to each other, is always both gratifying and beneficial; many coming from distant parts of the country, and who may hitherto have lived in comparative retirement, have perhaps for the first time the opportunity of examining buildings or antiquities which from their celebrity may long have been cherished by them as objects of interest and curiosity. Again, attention is directed by the members to buildings which may be verging to decay or ruin and calling for immediate restoration. The necessity of bestowing upon them judicious care is brought before the public; the result is generally successful, and a valuable relic of past ages which might otherwise have wholly perished, is preserved. In these days the High Cross of Bristol would not have been rejected, but would have remained on its ancient site; we can only rejoice that, instead of being thrown piecemeal into the mason's yard, it found a safe asylum in the beautiful grounds of Stourhead. But how much of majesty and beauty in mediæval architecture has perished! "I am heartily sorry," says Aubrey, "I did not set down the antiquities of these parts sooner; for since the time aforesaid (1659), many things are irrecoverably lost." "In former days," he continues, "the churches and great houses hereabouts did so abound with monuments and things remarkable, that it would have deterred an antiquary from undertaking their history." The interest displayed in the preservation of ancient remains is not confined to ourselves; it happily communicates itself, and is daily gaining strength far beyond the class of architectural antiquaries. A recent gratifying proof of the truth of this

remark, and of the value of this society, has been afforded by the successful interference of our intelligent associate, Mr. Gibson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the preservation of a portion of the rampart of the Roman Station of Lanchester, in the county of Durham. Mr. Kearney, the proprietor of that property, in his reply to Mr. Gibson's representation, stated that he had taken particular care that nothing should be disturbed of the slightest interest; and he expressed his regret that any of the old walls had been touched, if he had thereby rendered them less interesting to the members of the Institute. We may hope that, as education becomes daily more widely diffused, the peasant or the artisan, equally with those in higher stations, will seek to preserve any architectural remains in his parish, which speak of bygone days, and which he knows are so much appreciated by men more enlightened than himself.

This visit (as experience has proved in other cities) will furnish, I doubt not, valuable and authentic materials for the future historian of Bristol.

On looking back at the labours of the Institute, whether in connection with the history of our country, the investigation of our mediæval antiquities, or its architecture, we may turn to our Transactions in the *Archæological Journal* with no slight feelings of satisfaction. The papers printed in the Winchester, York, Norwich, Lincoln, and Salisbury volumes, would also reflect credit upon any body of men associated to further and assist antiquarian researches.

In the department of architecture it is sufficient to point to the admirable papers of Professor Willis, illustrating in so lucid a manner, after minute and painful investigation, the peculiarities and beauties of several of our cathedrals. These papers are confessedly unequalled, from the depth of research, the sound judgment, and the shrewdness of conjecture by which they are characterized; but they derived additional value from the felicity of diction and the spirit and animation which Professor Willis always infused into them.

The papers of Professor Cockerell have happily confirmed the truth that sculpture is the right hand of architecture. They were united in the good days of Italy, and in our cathedrals we find them closely and intimately connected. Look at Wells, as it stands, and remember that the west front of another cathedral, that of Salisbury, was once

adorned with 123 figures. In these papers Professor Cockerell has not only manifested the purest taste and the most intimate knowledge of art, but he has exhibited that which always ought to dignify the treatment of these subjects—the deepest feelings of reverence. He has found literally sermons in stones: in the façade of Wells, for instance, the Hymn of St. Ambrose, the Te Deum, a sculptured homily; and in the Angel Choir of Lincoln Cathedral he has traced most clearly a series of subjects reaching from the Covenant of Promise made to Abraham and the Patriarchs down to the consummation of all things. A slight description of the Wells sculptures, from Mr. C.'s own notes, I was enabled to read before the Somersetshire Society at Wells, and the paper has since appeared in their Transactions. Very shortly, I am happy to say, we shall see a distinct work by the Professor, on these and other sculptures, with illustrations.

Many who are present had the good fortune of hearing both these distinguished individuals in their addresses yesterday. A finer field than Wells could scarcely be offered to their notice; and the impression made by the visit of the Institute will no doubt be lasting, and may be pregnant with beneficial results to the further restoration of that beautiful pile.

To the papers already mentioned we may add, the valuable contributions of the Rev. J. L. Petit; those, for instance, on Wymondham Church and on Southwell Minster, with his interesting illustrations, sometimes furnished most liberally by himself; The remarks on painted glass in different churches, by the writer most competent to offer them, Mr. Winston; The architectural notes of the churches and other buildings visited in different years by the Institute, compiled by Mr. Parker;—these, with other papers which could be mentioned—for the subject is a most grateful one—deserve special commendation.

There are indeed few persons who have done more to create a feeling and interest in our pursuits, and especially with the young of both sexes, than the gentleman last named, the compiler of the admirable Glossary of Architecture, which, from a thin volume of fifty-six pages, published fifteen years ago, has now become enlarged to three goodly octavo volumes, with 1700 illustrations; a book equally increased in value as in size.

If there be any young and zealous antiquary near me, who fondly anticipates that his own name may be associated with the place of his birth or the residence of his ancestors, or with some spot in his native land which is celebrated as the scene of important historical events, I would especially direct him to the "Hints on the Nature, Purpose, and Resources of Topography," in our Lincoln volume, from the pen of a veteran and able antiquary, Mr. Hunter, one who has laboured long and most successfully in this and in other classes of literature. These hints will furnish the reader with most valuable advice for his future guidance.

To revert, however, to the business of this section. Whilst in the pursuit of, and encouraging a taste for HISTORICAL antiquities, we look back with grateful respect to the fostering care of Archbishop Parker, and the accumulations of Sir Robert Cotton; to the labours of our chroniclers, to those of Camden, Saville, Selden, Twysden, and Gibson; and, lastly, to those of our old friend Thomas Hearne—the Wormius of Pope—still the movement in *Ecclesiastical Architecture* in England, extending from the days of Elizabeth to those of George III., was assuredly a retrograde one. We traverse a period of thick and almost unbroken darkness, brightened only by those gleams when the talents of Jones and Wren shone forth, and gave us specimens of Roman grandeur. Evelyn, Wren himself, Seed, and less considerable men, expressed but one tone of contempt for Mediæval Architecture, of which indeed Inigo Jones had given a practical example, by actually placing a Roman Portico before the magnificent Cathedral of St. Paul. With the exception of the efforts made in the days of Queen Anne, little was done in increasing the number of our Churches, and so far only as our national taste was concerned—but in no other sense—it was a fortunate circumstance; for the deformities in Architecture of the three first Georges, are unequalled, and most needful was it that by the exercise of individual talent, and by the aid of societies, the labours of architects of a higher order should be called into exercise.

It has been deemed almost essential by some of the distinguished individuals who have presided over the Institute,

to meet the objections of those who regard with doubt or fear, the impulse which has in our days been happily given to architectural improvement and to church decoration.

If the object and result of our annual meetings, and of our exertions at all times, be to cherish whatever is truly valuable in Archæology, and to estimate aright whatever leads to the cultivation of the highest exercise of art, let us not again hear the idle charge, that we encourage ancient superstitions and fantastic puerilities, still more that we foster grave errors of principle. The true philosopher will hesitate before he undervalues any researches which add to the happiness and improvement of mankind, which call forth labour and erudition, and which powerfully interest our nature. And what a happy change has come over us! What would now be thought of, what Johnson terms, "the tumultuous violence of Knox," or of "dilapidations, suffered by deliberate robbery and frigid indifference?"

Visit our cathedrals and churches in 1851, and compare them with the account given by the same writer three parts of a century ago, when he speaks of the "despicable philosophy which prevailed, in *contemning* monuments of sacred magnificence;" this has happily passed away among, we may hope, the majority of our countrymen, to make room, not as has been untruly said, for a school of foppery and fanaticism, but for a pure ecclesiastical taste, conducted on sound principles. Let things be called by their right names; superstition may have been the animating principle which *sometimes* planned and accomplished these noble structures—which notwithstanding the increase of wealth, skill, and luxury, even *nations* do not now call into existence—but by what name shall that blind ruffian-like zeal be called which could raise the massive hammer and crumble the venerable materials into dust?

We may surely maintain, in opposition to that spirit of Puritanism which would affirm the contrary, that the erection and restoration of churches after the best examples, and adapted to our own form of worship—that the exertion in the service of God, of those gifts and talents with which He has endowed us—that the wise and judicious expenditure, in the same holy cause, of a portion of that boundless wealth which He has been pleased to pour upon this

nation—*must* lead to reverence and devotion. Are we indeed to be taught by the indifferent and careless, that where the glories of ecclesiastical architecture are freely displayed, holiness and piety must necessarily take their flight?

To quote the language of the loved and honoured Bishop of my own diocese, in the excellent address which he delivered last year at Wells—"There is a spirit, at once reverential and enlightened, with which these subjects can best be entered into, and which indeed appears to me most remarkably to have characterized its most successful students. If, I say, we follow in that spirit, then we can hardly fail to have our hearts warmed; as our minds are strengthened, we shall be led, not only to admire, but to emulate the work of by-gone days, to discriminate the pious motive from the superstitious use, the beautiful from the monstrous, the living from the dead, that which is temporary and conventional, from that which is unchangeable and eternal."

I would also quote the words of another Prelate, who has been called to his rest, but who for years took a lively interest in our proceedings. The late Bishop Stanley, in a charge delivered four years since, says:—"Conceiving, as I do, that the gifts and talents placed at our command, were meant for our cultivation, I cannot understand the arguments of those who would oppose their development to the fullest extent, in the service of Him by whom they were imparted; and it is on this principle therefore, that I would encourage the introduction of the highest exercise of art, in all that relates to ecclesiastical architecture and decoration, internal as well as external. I cannot enter into the devotional character of the man who can look without emotion and admiration, at the master pieces of the great sculptors or painters, portraying Scriptural subjects; and I need scarcely remind you that, had not religion patronized and encouraged the one and the other, the most distinguished professors in these sister arts would have remained in obscurity. I am aware of the reply; they pander, it is said, to idolatry, and may again become the object of superstitious worship. In a *former* age, such reasoning might have weight; but I must confess, I cannot now hear it without mingled sentiments of *pain* and *surprise*. In our more

enlightened age, such fears are surely exaggerated; let us rather cherish it as our especial privilege, that we need not, like the Puritans of old, banish the influence of art from the sphere of religion, and return to that rude spirit which went forth as the destroyer of all that was beautiful, glorying in its barbarous mutilations; but offer the noblest works and faculties of man, as the best sacrifice to the worship of God."

One sentiment of the deepest regret must pervade this meeting; whether we assemble collectively, or in sections, and although the melancholy subject was most feelingly alluded to by many distinguished individuals on our first day of assembling, still we must all feel anxious to pay a tribute of respect, so justly due, to the memory of the illustrious dead. I cannot therefore close these remarks, though I fear that I have trespassed too long upon your attention, without referring to that gifted nobleman, long the master-spirit of this Institute, whose superior talents, cultivated taste, and courteous bearing, encouraged, animated, and cheered us in our progress. How justly does Lord Clarendon's eulogy on the gallant Sir Bevil Granville, apply to the late Marquis of Northampton!—"He was indeed an excellent person; his example kept others from taking anything ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition were never married together, to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation." On the day of our departure from Oxford, at our last anniversary, I had the privilege of expressing a few words with reference to the steady support which his Lordship had given to the Institute from its foundation; and of gratitude for the wisdom and judgment, which, under most critical circumstances, he had displayed when our bark, on its being first launched, was endangered by the breakers that surrounded it. We cannot but remember, with mournful feelings, the anticipations which Lord Northampton expressed at Oxford of meeting us in his own county, at no distant time; in a few short months afterwards, this excellent man was gathered to the tomb of his ancestors. Surely the emphatic words spoken by Burke, near the very spot where we are now assembled, must recur to our minds, "what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!"

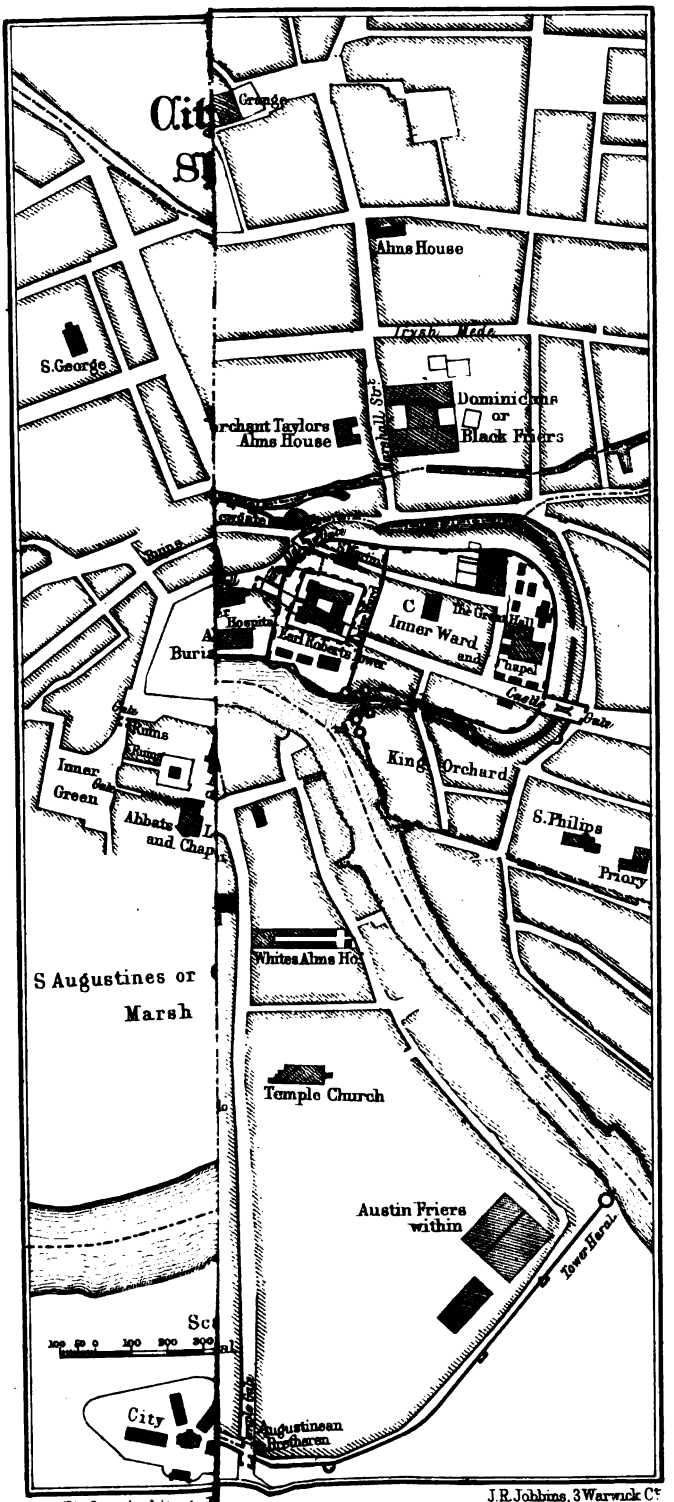
ON THE DESECRATED AND DESTROYED CHURCHES OF BRISTOL.

I PURPOSE, in the following observations, to make mention of the remains of several ancient churches and chapels in the city of Bristol, nearly or quite destroyed, or fast disappearing. The descriptions have been taken from detached notices that I have from time to time collected. Our city, at the present time, contains a considerable number of ancient churches; at a former period, however, as many as eighteen existed; of some of these very few, and in some cases hardly any remains are now left.

The accompanying plan shows Bristol in its present state, on which is marked, either from inspection of the ruins, or from old maps, the sites of the principal buildings that existed in the early ages. The portions which formed the early city are here distinguished from those added soon after the Conquest; and the extent of the Castle, with its wards, is clearly indicated.

Bristol, in its early form, was similar in plan to the majority of the early towns. It will be perceived that Corn-street, Broad-street, Wine and High streets formed a cross; the smaller streets or lanes followed the curvature of the wall. In the centre of the principal streets stood the High Cross, and at the corners of the streets formed at their intersection stood churches;—namely, All Saints' or All-hallows', Christ's or Trinity Church, St. Ewen's, and St. Andrew's. At the other extremities of the four principal streets were the four principal gates:—St. John's and St. Lawrence's, north; St. Nicholas', south; New Gate, east; and St. Leonard's, west; attached to three of these gates are found the remains of churches. The only churches within the walls, except those before mentioned, were St. Maryleport, St. Werburgh's, and probably St. Peter's. The other churches, without the walls, are indicated on the plan.

The early history of Bristol I pass over, excepting to


Grange
Alms House
S.George
Dominicans
or
Black Friers
Merchant Taylors
Alms House
Earl Roberts Tower
C
Inner Ward
and
Chapel
Ruins
Inner
Green
King
Orchard
S.Philips
Priory
Whites Alms Ho
S Augustines or
Marsh
Temple Church
Austin Friers
within
Tower Hill
City
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remark that it is closely connected with the Berkeleys and their castle; there is, indeed, hardly any edifice in the city or surrounding parishes, which was not in some manner associated with that family. At the dissolution of the Abbey most, if not all, the records were carried to Berkeley Castle, and deposited in the chapel of our Lady, in the eastern tower of the Keep. Mr. Seyer acknowledges with thankfulness and pleasure the kindness of Colonel Berkeley, (Earl Fitzhardinge,) in allowing him access to examine every paper relating to Bristol. The several documents, which are of the most valuable kind, were arranged in 1628, by John Smythe, a fellow of Magdalen.

The principal historians and writers who have treated of the antiquities of Bristol are:—Turgot, prior of Durham; he wrote in 1088; his history is "*doune from Saxon, by Rowlie,*" who wrote in 1469;* William of Wyrcestre, 1431; Ricaut, Town Clerk of Bristol, 1470; Leland, 1534; and in more recent times, William Barrett, F.S.A., in 1789; Rev. Samuel Seyer, M.A., Corpus Christi, Oxford, 1821; Rev. S. Dallaway, 1834; Mr. Evans, and John Corry, 1810. Bristol, like London and other ancient cities, possesses also numerous MS. kalendars, or chronicles, relating to its early history. Mr. Seyer has enumerated a list of maps and plans, relating to Bristol; they are very numerous, and are of value as indicating the successive changes at various periods. Mr. Braikenridge, of Brislington, possesses a most valuable and extensive collection of drawings and maps; comprising those made by Skelton and O'Neille. Mr. Dallaway, in 1844, gave an enumeration of the drawings; amounting at that time to 1544. Old maps exist in the possession of the commissioners of the Local Board of Health. One published by Höfnagle in 1575, is well deserving of examination.

St. Andrew's.—This church stood on the site of the Castle Bank, the old wooden Dutch-framed building now to be seen on the opposite corner to the Council House. No mention is made of this church by the early writers, and some of later times throw doubt on its existence. I

* Some have called in question the authenticity of Turgot's history: he is cited in the belief that certain ancient papers fell into Chatterton's hands which were worked up in his History.

am enabled to state that the extensive ecclesiastical remains clearly indicate that a church did exist on this site. Under the banking-room the crypt-groining is most perfect, and the adjoining houses show four centred arches, sufficiently large for the support of buildings of considerable altitude. Very considerable remains exist on this same side of the street, supposed to be for the storing of merchandise; extending to the river at the bottom of the street. At No. 22, High-street, the remains are well worthy of a visit; the floors generally are about 8 or 10 feet under the present surface. A similarity of style exists in the detail of the groin-ribbing, the shafts, and other details. In nearly each crypt was a door and flight of steps, leading to the street and also to the ancient back courts. On the west side of the street, at No. 32, a crypt (if it may be so called) exists in part; the ceiling supported by oak uprights, moulded at the angles; the inner face of the mouldings forming arches, supporting the horizontal beams midway between their bearings.

Church of St. Audoen, Owen, or St. Ewen.—William of Wyrcestre describes the parish church of St. Audoen, with the chapel of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist, as "situate in a direct line betwixt the church of St. Werburgh, on the west, and Broad-street, on the east; the great east window of the church being situate over Broad-street. The length of the church was 22 yards, and the breadth 15 yards—it had a nave, or north aisle, and a south aisle, which was the chapel of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist."* In 1631, a tower was erected at an expense of 196*l.*, in the churchyard. This church, says Barrett, "is of great antiquity, and it appears by deeds that Robert, Earl of Gloucester, gave the church of St. Ewen to Thurstan the priest, of Bristol; and William the Earl confirmed it in the time of Simon, Bishop of Worcester, *circa* 1130." William of Wyrcestre describes King Edward IV. looking through the east window to see Sir Baudwyn Fulford pass by to his execution, in 1461. In the chapel of St. John the Baptist were two altars, dedicated to St. Catherine and St. Margaret. The Chapel of St. John the Baptist was connected with the guild of Merchant Taylors, and

* Dallaway, Antiqu. of Bristow, pp. 96, 113.

founded in 1398. This fraternity, in the year 1701, founded an almshouse in Merchant-street. The old chapel in St. Ewen's, in 1551 (4 Edw. VI.) was granted to the corporation, paying 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. After this the corporation, taking down the chapel, built on this ground a council house in 1552, "with a shed covered with lead, supported by five stone pillars." This old council house was taken down and rebuilt in 1704, and another house built. This church in 1788 was by Act of Parliament consolidated with Christ Church. There are some of the Churchwardens' books of an old date in existence, containing several curious entries, one describing the expense of washing the church previous to the king's coming (Edward IV.), and another for a breakfast on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1460. In digging the foundations for the council house there were found several stone coffins, and many fragments of Norman capitals and columns, with several coins, which are particularized by Evans. In Prout's Sketches of Bristol (plate 26) is shown a fragment of this church, taken down previous to the building of the Council House.

Holy Trinity, or Christ Church.—A rectory rated in the king's books at 3*l.* 8*s.*; its yearly tenths (now discharged), 1*l.* 2*s.* Rowley says it was founded (920) by Ulla, lord warden of the Castle, and it was "spired by Aylwardus Sneaw." Barrett mentions, that in taking down part of the spire, in 1765, a date in lead let into the stone was found, stated to have been 1003 or 1004. When the church was taken down to be rebuilt in 1787, a statue supposed to represent a Saxon earl sitting in a niche, was discovered, walled in on the front. Leland says, that in this church was first kept the calendaries, otherwise called the gild or fraternity of the clergy and commonaltie of Brighstow; but since removed to All-Hallows'.* It was a low building, of the form of a cross, the tower being near the centre; from the ground to the battlements of the tower measured about 70 feet; on the centre stood a spire about the same height. Chimes were placed in the tower, with two dial plates, at the west end of south aisle, one facing Corn and the other High street. On the sides of the dials were men

* Leland, Itin. vol. vii. p. 94.

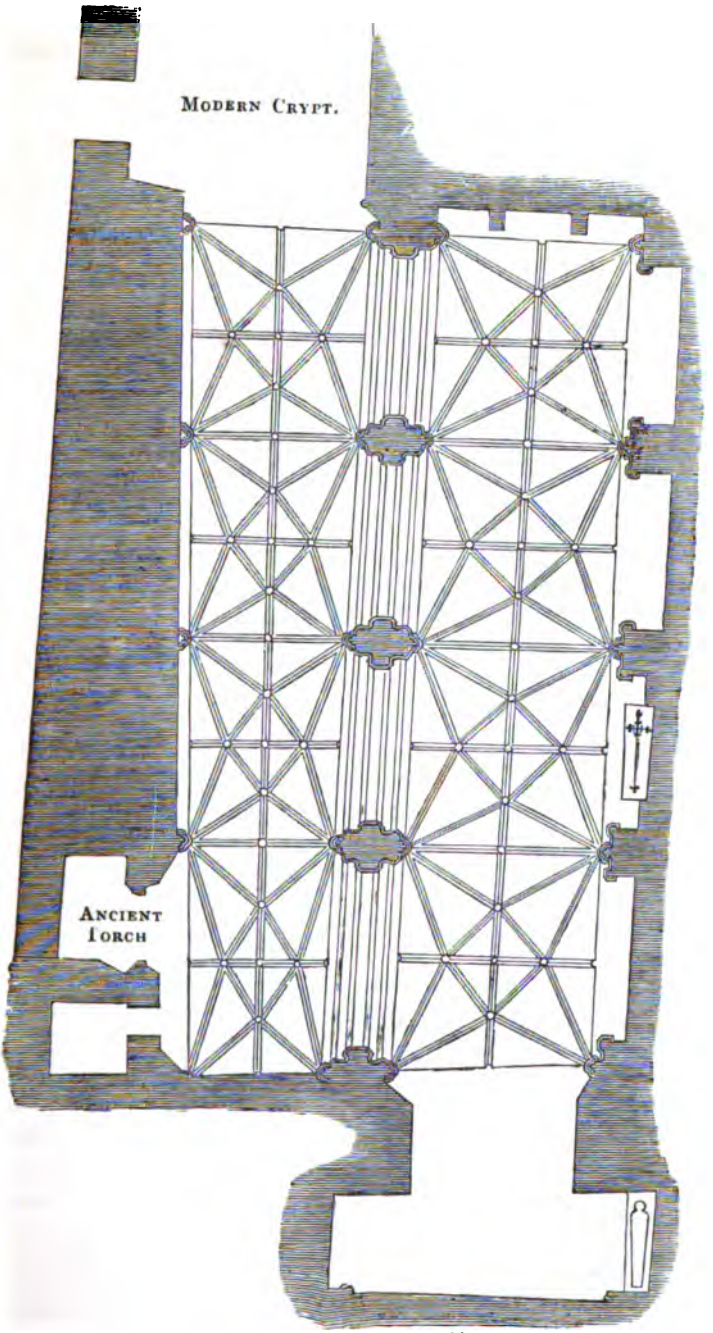
carved in wood, to strike the quarters. In the year 1751, the church was repaired, at an expense of 1500*l.*; and in the year 1783, the present church was rebuilt.

St. Nicholas.—The earliest mention of this Church is by Rowley; he says this church was founded by Earl Britrycke, in 1030, and since was given to St. Augustine's monastery in Bristowe. Abbot Newland mentions Robert third son of Robert Fitzharding (*circa* 1172) having given unto that monastery the church of St. Nicholas. William of Wyrcestre describes it thus:—"The breadth of the crypt called *le crowd*, with the two aisles arched with the number of five pillars, measures 12 yards, and five great pillars and five arches are in the said crypt or vault. Also the square belfry tower measures 5 yards on every side."* The length of the Crowd of St. Nicholas measures (besides the chapel, with 7 yards for the breadth of the Chapel of Holy Cross,) 31 yards; its breadth measures 12 yards, 1½ foot. The spire was constructed of wood and covered with lead, the pieces jointed and let into one another, which William of Wyrcestre calls "*magnum pinaculum sive spera de mearenno elevato, cum plumbo cooperto.*"† There were six bells in the tower; and the great clock bell was fixed in the steeple above the rest, with an inscription and the date 1396. The church was partly rebuilt in 1503; this re-building Barrett describes as being in the form of two aisles, the northern aisle, or nave, terminating with a chancel, with an ascent of twelve steps; it was situate over the arched gateway of St. Nicholas. There was a vestry-room that projected over the street. The passage over the old bridge, and through the arch of St. Nicholas, became very dangerous and inconvenient; and, in 1762, the church was taken down, and the present structure erected. There was a religious guild or fraternity of the Holy Ghost within the crypt. The expenses of the priests and clerks for celebrating mass and anthems, and for wine on Holy-Rood day, are particularized by Barrett; mention is also made of eight chantries. The accompanying illustration accurately shows the existing remains of the old crypt, the date of which is *circa* 1503; that part under the nave may be rather the most

* Dallaway, Antiqu. of Bristow, p. 77.

† Ibid. p. 138. The true recording is probably "spera de *mearemio*," timber.

CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, BRISTOL.



Ancient Crypt. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$th of inch to foot.

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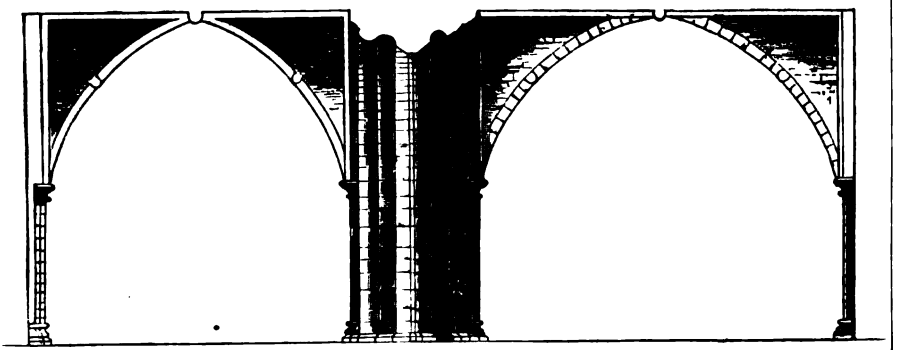
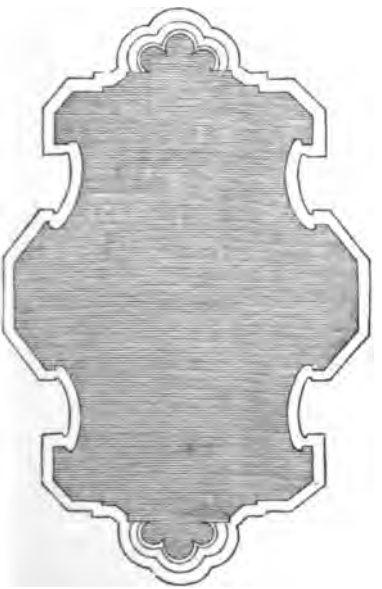
CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, BRISTOL.



TRANSVERSE SECTION.



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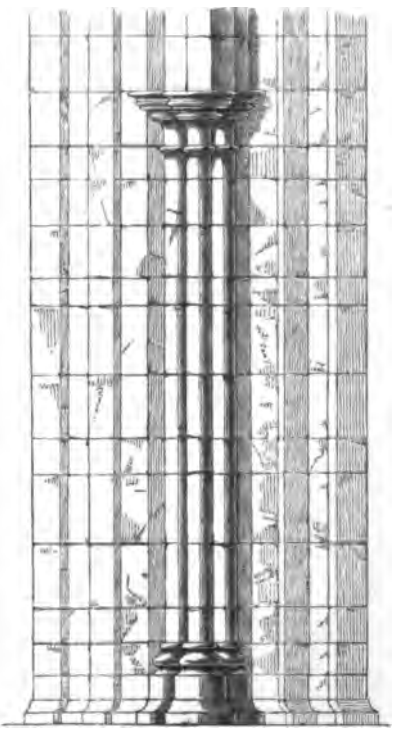
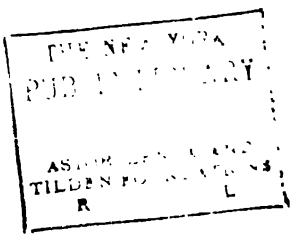
AND



ELEVATION OF PIER IN CRYPT.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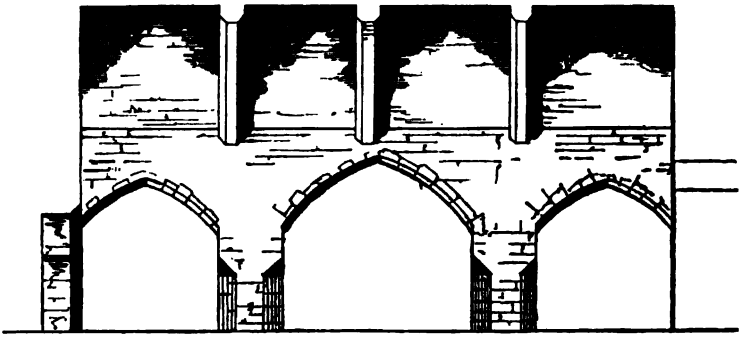
ancient, partaking somewhat of the character of an earlier church, of which mention is made *circa* 1361. Fragments of this remain against the east wall under High-street; and also a ribbed moulding and beautiful carved boss, under the east wall of the present church. The south porch exists in a perfect state, with the exception of the exterior doorway into the street. The groined roof is very perfect, and the bosses are well carved; one at the intersection of ribs in the west end of aisle (S.) is said to represent Queen Philippa; another, the Saviour; also the Holy Virgin and Child. In the floor are several incised monumental slabs, well worthy of observation. Two stone coffins remain; one in its original position against the north wall, covered with an incised slab and inscription to the memory of Mabel and Richard le draper, dated 1311. Mabel appears to have been burnt, ashes only being found in the tomb; but Richard was buried, as his skeleton remains. In the west compartment of the south aisle may be seen the remains of the matrix of a brass. In the parish of St. Nicholas is a burial ground called the Rackhay. I can find no mention of a church existing there; but in Höfnagle's map a church is clearly shown. Barrett says a chapel dedicated to St. John was attached to Back-street gate. The vicarage of St. Nicholas was attached to the Rackhay; in 1625, it was removed.

St. Leonard's.—An ancient course of the Froom, in running down Baldwin-street, passed close to St. Leonard's gate, where of course was a bridge. Barrett says:—"At the west end of Old Corn-street, formerly stood three arched gateways, forming together a triangle; through the south gate you passed to Baldwin-street; north, to the quay; and the east, which was the largest, led to Corn-street, over which stood a tower of freestone, 65 ft. high from the ground, and 18 ft. in front from north to south, and from east to west 10 ft., having pinnacles and balusters at top. In the tower were two bells. Under the bell loft within the church was built, against the east window, a beautiful neat altar. The body of the church consisted of two aisles extending over the three archways. On the north side was a small crypt, at the end of which you ascended to the door of the church by a flight of thirteen steps, at the west end

of the north aisle, which was in length 35 ft.; and the south aisle from the altar to the west window was about 55 ft. and 30 ft. to the ceiling. In the Rowlie manuscripts it is stated that this church was built by Algar, a Saxon, in 1010. Mention is also made in a deed, 25 Edw. I. (1297), of Simon de Burton, the founder of Redcliff Church, granting tenements for three lives, "newly built in Corn-street" within the gate of St. Leonard, to John Dicto, and afterwards a grant of 6*s.* 8*d.*, twice a year, for the maintenance of a lamp to burn in this church. It is rated in the king's books at 4*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* It was a vicarage. The last incumbent was the Rev. John Davie, who removed to St. John's in 1766, when this church was pulled down, and the parish consolidated with that of St. Nicholas. On founding the City Library in 1615, it was ordered that the vicar of St. Leonard's should be librarian. After the removal of this church Clare-street was built, and named after Lord Clare. The most perfect portions of the remains of the crypts of this church, are shown by the accompanying illustration; one being under the house at the corner of Corn and Nicholas streets, now used as a store cellar; and another immediately under the Old Bank, used as a receptacle for deeds and other valuables. Many other fragments exist, and several parts have been destroyed in recent excavations. Each of these crypts is groined over, with projecting ribs at the intersections; and round the sides are recessed receptacles for coffins. The floors are laid with modern pavements. These crypts assimilate in date with that at St. John's.

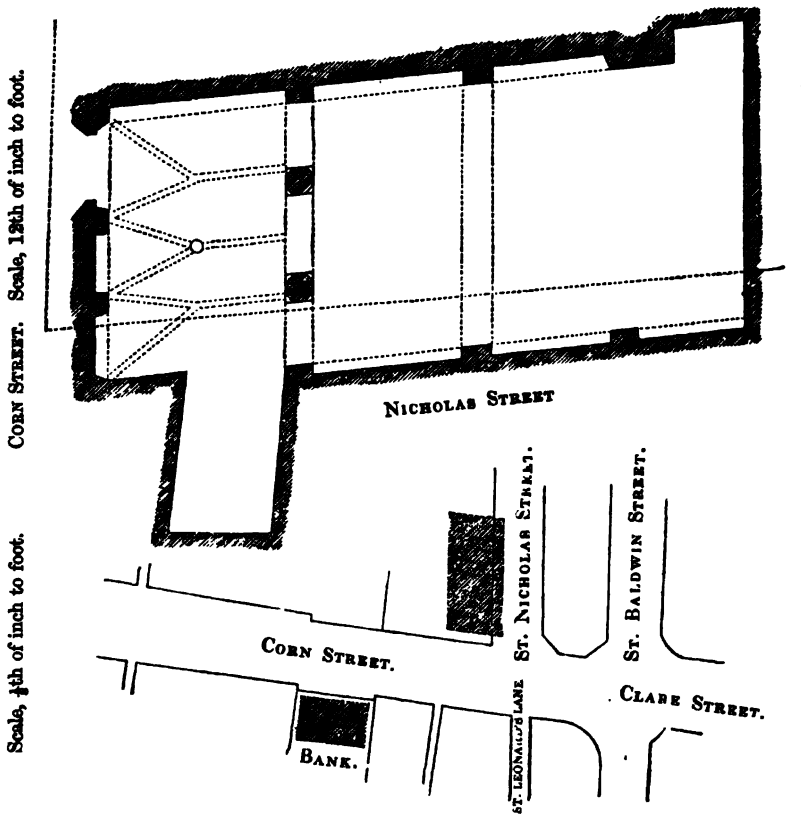
St. Giles's.—So called by Leland, and William of Wyrcestre; its position was at the bottom of Small-street. It was demolished, says Seyer, about 100 years since; but Barrett says—"In 1319 the Chapel of St. Giles, which belonged to St. Leonard's, was pulled down." It seems to have been annexed to St. Leonard's in 1301; and the "chancel, bells, books, and vestments destroyed, and its revenues being much impaired, it was wholly annexed to which it had been of old subject." Evans says:—"The Jews' temple, or synagogue, was in a vault beneath the church, where the Jews assembled to worship, previous to the reign of King John, who persecuted and then expelled them."

REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. LEONARD, BRISTOL.



ELEVATION LOOKING SOUTH.

Scale, ¼th of an inch to foot.



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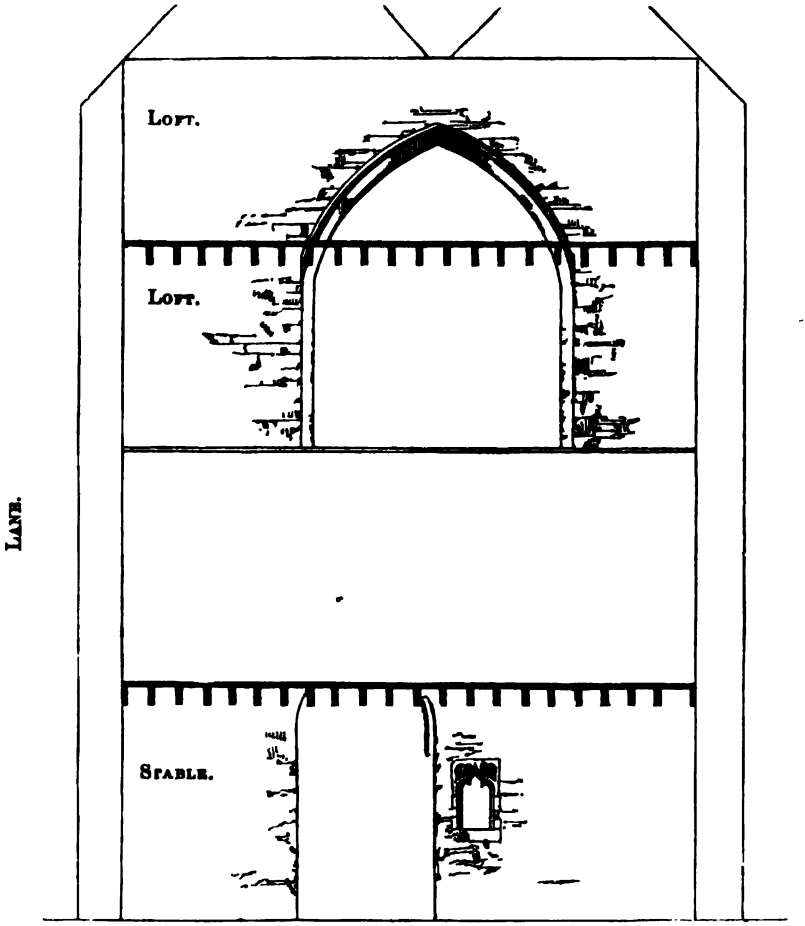
REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE, BRISTOL.

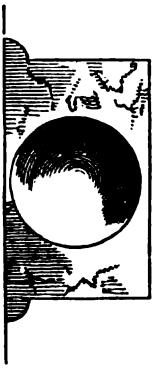


Interior Elevation of Western Hall.

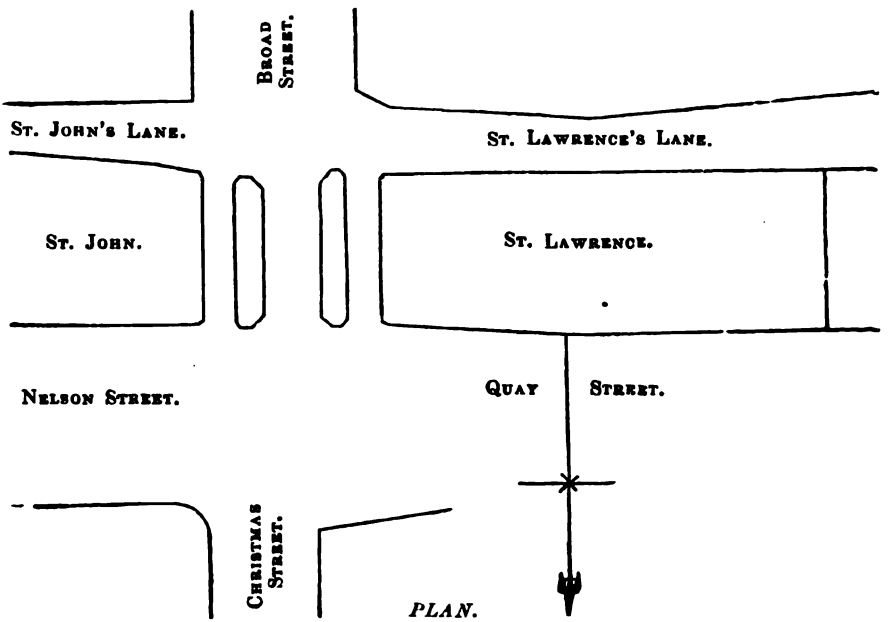
Scale, $\frac{1}{8}$th of inch to foot.

REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE, BRISTOL.

ELEVATION OF STOUP. Scale, 1 inch to foot.



PLAN OF STOUP.



PLAN.

Some early documents in the Council House particularly mention "St. Giles' gate with a tenement over it."

St. Lawrence's.—On the west of St. John's are situate the remains of the church of St. Lawrence. Sealy gives the dimensions, 59 ft. 8 in., by 24 ft. 8 in.; and says this must have been the size of the original building, except that it may have extended up to the wall of St. John's arch. William of Wyrcestre describes it as being 28 yards long and 9 yards wide. No record seems to exist of its foundation. Being much decayed, and having but a small parish belonging to it, it was incorporated with St. John's, in 1580. Having been sold in the time of Henry VIII. to H. Brayne, whose successor, Sir Charles Somerset, sold the site for buildings upon lives, John Hawkys, in the 16th of Henry VIII., gave a third part of his estate to the rectors and proctors of St. Lawrence's, (valued at that time at 900*l.*). Barrett gives the names of seventeen rectors, from 1303 to 1548. The west wall of this church remains, and is shown in the accompanying illustration; it forms the exterior wall of a stable, with lofts over the same. On the ground floor the western doorway is walled up, but clearly indicated; adjoining, on the north side, is a perfect Stoup. The jambs and arch-moulding of the western window are entire; but the sill of the window and the arch of the door are shut up by some temporary partitions. These remains seem to show that no crypt existed under this church, as at St. John's. The architecture is about the same date as the church adjoining.

St. Werburgh's.—Turgot, who wrote in 1088, says,—"Edward, sonne of Alfrydus Magnus, A.D. 915, builded anew Wareburgas Chyrche, and added housen for priests." It is situate in *Old* Corn-street, and Barrett says:—"Its east end joins the upper end of Small-street. It had no tower for near two hundred years after its foundation; but in 1385, a tower was erected. On the tower is built a curious hollow-work pinnacle, about 20 feet high, with a gilt ball and weather-cock." This church, being much decayed, and obstructing the entrance into Small-street, was partly taken down and rebuilt in 1760, and the top of the tower repaired. Barrett gives the dimensions of this church, and

also those of the existing church. The tower and north porch are the original parts of this church that remain; the porch is open on the three sides, and has the appearance of a *porte cochère*, on a small scale.

St. Michael's.—Dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. The founder is supposed to be Robert Fitz-Haymon, who endowed his abbey of Tewkesbury with this church. In the year 1193 it was in the presentation of the monks of the abbey church of Tewkesbury, as appears by the confirmation of Henry Bishop of Winchester. In the year 1291, this benefice was in the archdeaconry of Gloucester and deanery of Bristol (says Barrett): its yearly value then was six marks and a half, and it was subject to an annual payment of 4*s.* for the prior of St. James's part or share. At the dissolution of religious houses the presentation of this church, with many others, was sold by letters patent, for the sum of 667*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, to Henry Brayne, and passed from him to the corporation. The rector for the time being pays 2*s.* yearly to the dean and chapter of Bristol, which was formerly paid to the monastery of St. Augustine. The church consisted of two aisles, with a tower at the west end (now remaining); from thence to the altar 73 feet: the height of the roof was about 26 feet, supported by four arches and three pillars. Breadth of two aisles, 37 feet: before the north and south doors were porches; over that on the south, was the vestry. In the year 1774, a survey was made; and being considered dilapidated, the fabric was pulled down and the present church built. The west tower is by no means an inelegant structure; but it does not belong to the early church before mentioned, being of the 15th century. Evans states, that the female head at the termination of the label course is intended for that of Queen Philippa.

St. Thomas the Martyr's.—From the earliest time this was only a chapel to Bedminster; William of Wyrcestre says (page 214):—The length of the church of St. Thomas contains 73 steps or 48 yards, its breadth 21 yards. But in page 204, he states that the church of St. Thomas with the choir, contains in length 80 steps, breadth 55 steps; and in page 239 he says it is 43 yards in length. This church

has been rebuilt, but the tower of the 15th century church remains.

St. Andrew's, Clifton.—This church was impropriated to the ancient College of Westbury. It has been rebuilt. Originally it consisted of nave and aisle; and in the year 1768, a new south aisle was erected. In the time of Henry II., William de Clifton granted it to the Abbey of St. Augustine. Evans describes the termination of the label moulding of the western entrance, as being the head of Queen Philippa. Skelton has published a south-west view of the old church.

The Chapel of the Holy Virgin, Bristol Bridge.—This chapel was placed across the roadway, from 70 to 80 feet in length, and 20 or 24 feet wide. The east end of the chapel extended over the bridge (which was about 50 feet wide), and was supported on a pier built in the river. William of Wyrcestre says; "It had a tower 108 feet high, on each side four large windows of three lights, and also an east window" (and no doubt a west window); "the windows were filled with stained glass. Behind the Lady Chapel was the principal altar, only 9 feet long. It is said to have been erected by King Edward III. and his queen Philippa, and called the chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and consecrated 1361." The description of this chapel is fully detailed by Seyer; but it cannot be reconciled with the ancient authorities, or with the buildings shown in the old maps of the city. After the dissolution, this chapel was used as a warehouse. In 1643, it was set fire to by the rebels of those times, and demolished.

Chapel of St. Jordan.—Leland, speaking of the monastery of St. Augustine, says:—"Ibique in magna area sacellum in quo sepultus est S. Jordanus, unus ex discipulis Augustini Anglorum Apostoli" (vol. v. fol. 64). The ancient tradition is that the abbey was built on the spot where stood St. Augustine's oak. The chapel of St. Jordan was at a distance from the abbey, in the College Green; and although its exact size cannot now be ascertained, it appears to have been standing so late as the year 1491-2,

when the sacrist of the abbey accounted for 22 pence received as oblations from the box of St. Clement, adjacent to the chapel of St. Jordan in the green place.* During the year 1491 fourteen persons claimed sanctuary, each of whom paid 4*d.* for the insertion of his name in the sacrist's books. William of Wyrcestre describes the extent of the sanctuary with sufficient accuracy, and it evidently included nearly the whole of the present College Green. St. Jordan's Chapel and St. Clement's Shrine must have been within the sanctuary, and detached from the church, because the oblations are separately accounted for.

Chapel of St. Brandon.—This chapel, it is stated, existed on the summit of Brandon Hill. In the county of Kerry, in Ireland, is an eminence called Brandon Hill, with the remains of an oratory on its summit dedicated to St. Brandon, who founded a monastery at Clonfert (558). In the register of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, under the date 14th August, 1403, mention is made of this chapel; and in an old Latin deed relating to the Gaunts (says Barrett), lived here, in 1531, Lucy de Newchirche. The remains of this chapel were destroyed in 1565 by Mr. Read, who erected a windmill on the summit.

Chapel of St. Austin.—This chapel (says Barrett) stood near the fine gate leading to the lower Green. "*Thys freemied pyle is uncouth to saye whom the same dyd ye buyld. But it mode nedes be eld, sythence it was—in the days of William le Bastarde.*"—(Rowlie.)

Chapel of St. Martin.—In the outer or first ward of the castle was situate this chapel. Particular mention is made of this chapel in the valuable series of records, called the Liberate Rolls, preserved in the Tower of London. These authorities, says the late Mr. Hudson Turner, had hitherto escaped the notice of all previous writers on Architectural history, although a few extracts from them relating to Painting in England, were printed by Horace Walpole, and more recently by Sir C. S. Eastlake; they refer to the Architectural works executed by order of Henry III.:—

* Rot. penes Decanum et Capit. Bristol.

"The king, to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol.—We command you to put glass windows in our hall at Bristol, a royal seat in the same hall, and dormant tables around the same, and cause the chamber beside that hall to be wainscoted; and let glass windows be made in the chapel of St. Martin, and lengthen three of the windows of the same chapel, to wit, two in the chancel and one in the nave, that it may be better lighted, and let it be white-washed throughout. Wainscot the wardrobe under our chamber, and let double iron ties be made for the windows, with new wooden shutters, and repair the flooring towards the privy chamber. And let glass windows be made in the other chapel, and build a stone chimney in our chamber, and a certain stable nigh the wall of our castle there. Let double bars be made in the window nigh our wardrobe and the privy chamber, and block up the doors of the chapel beside our great hall there, and make a door in the chancel towards the Hermitage; in that Hermitage make an altar to St. Edward, and in the turret over that Hermitage make a chamber for the clerk, with appurtenances; also, build a kitchen and a sewery beside the aforesaid hall, and find the wages for a certain chaplain whom we have ordered to celebrate Divine Service in the chapel of our Tower there, all the days of our life, for Eleanor of Britanny, our cousin, to wit, 50*s.* per annum."*—Berkeley, Aug. 28, 34 Hen. III. 1250.

William of Wyrcestre makes mention of another magnificent chapel for the king, his lords and ladies, situate in the principal ward on the north side of the hall.

Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen.—This chapel, says the Rowley Manuscript, was builded by Ælle, warden of the chapel, near Ælle Gate or New Gate. In 1460 it was in ruins; the figures of Ælle and Coernicus, that stood in the chapel, now exist in a building at Brislington.

St. John the Baptist.—Spicer's Hall, or Back Hall. In the seventh year of Edward IV., William Canynge, Mayor, in the ordinances made for merchants it is mentioned—

* Domestic Architecture, p. 225. William of Wyrcestre says, in speaking of the chapel of St. Martin, a monk of St. James ought to celebrate the office every day, but does it but Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. Antiq. of Bristow, p. 156.

"that the master and fellowship to have at their will the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, and the draught chamber at Spicer's Hall to assemble in, paying 20*s*. per annum." This chapel was founded by Thomas Knapp, whose arms and pedigree are shown by Dallaway.*

St. George's, Broad-street.—This chapel was founded by Richard Spicer, about the time of Edward III. William of Wyrcestre says this chapel contains in length twenty steps besides the space of the chancel. This chapel was situate on the north side of the old Guildhall, the last window looking into Broad-street. In clearing the ground for the present Guildhall the remains were entirely removed.

Chapel of St. Clement.—Barrett says this chapel stood on the site of the present Merchants' Hall. John Shepward, who built St. Stephen's Tower (1470), left considerable estates to St. Stephen's and St. Clement's. Marsh-street terminated with a gate, and attached was the chapel of St. Martin, near the site of the present Merchants' Hall.

St. Matthias's Chapel.—"First builded by Alwarde, a Saxon, 867, and now (1460) made of the old walls of the same," says Leland. The site of this chapel is in (New) Bridge-street, now occupied by the Freemasons' Hall.

The Chapel of the Holy Ghost—is described by Leland to have been in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliff.

A Chapel dedicated to the Three Kings of Cologne exists on St. Michael's Hill, attached to which is Foster's Almshouse.

St. Sprite's, or St. John the Baptist's, near Redcliff Church. A site is shown on the plan from an old document. It has been called Lamyngton's Chapel, from a chaplain of that name, who lived in 1393. When the

* Antiquities of Bristow, pp. 89, 135.

building was taken down in 1766, a stone coffin with a figure in canonicals, and the name "Johannes Lamyngton," (says Barrett,) carved on the slab, was discovered in the wall beneath the west window, and was removed into Redcliff Church. Leland says, "This was a paroche before the buyldinge of Radclyfe grete new Churche." *

Attached to the Abbot's lodging, generally called the Bishop's Palace, William of Wyrcestre describes a chapel, 15 feet by 11 feet. Many Norman remains exist in the ruins; but the ecclesiastical window standing above the ruins was erected by Bishop Butler in 1738.

At Brightboow, Bedminster, was a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine. Collinson, in his History of Somersetshire, says the body of the chapel was 49 feet long and 21 feet wide; the chancel 27 feet long and 16 feet wide. A few ancient windows and doors are still visible; indicating that the remains are part of an ecclesiastical building of the 15th century.

St. Vincent's.—William of Wyrcestre is the only authority for this chapel. He states that the hall of the chapel of St. Vincent, of Gyston Cliff, is nine yards long, and breadth three yards: the length of the kitchen is ———, breadth three yards; from the chapel of St. Vincent to the lower water 40 fathoms, and from the "ovyr part of the mayn grounde londe" of the high rock down to the said chapel of St. Vincent, 20 fathoms; and from the high main firm land of the said rock down to the lowest water ground of the channel of Avon and Froom is 60 fathoms, and much more.† He goes on to describe the chapel of the Hermitage as "20 fathoms from the firm ground in height," as measured by himself, September 26, 1480, and situate about the middle of the rock as you ascend to the high ground.

Besides the churches and chapels in the city of Bristol and its immediate vicinity, the scattered memorials of which I have endeavoured, in the foregoing observations, to bring together, as an aid to the inquiries of the antiquary, there were also numerous chantries. In the enu-

* Itin. vol. v. p. 93. † Antiquities of Bristow, pp. 53. 150, 162.

meration given by John Cottrell, Vicar-General of Paul Bush, the first Bishop of Bristol, consecrated in 1542, not fewer than thirty-four chantries are mentioned. A list may be found in Barrett's History, stating the amount of their annual income.

JOHN BINDON.

Whilst the foregoing memoir was actually in the printer's hands some curious remains were brought to light in Bristol, of which the following account has been received from Mr. Bindon, accompanied by several sketches, from which illustrations have been prepared. These memorials of an ancient structure, now unfortunately destroyed, form an interesting addition to his contributions to this volume.

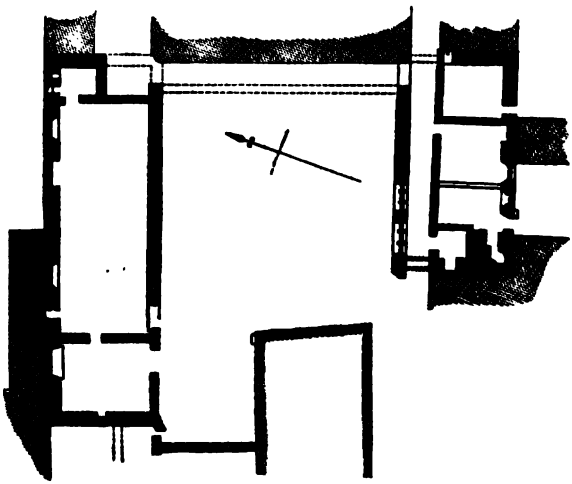
On pulling down some old premises midway between Corn-street and Nicholas-street, in the city of Bristol, for the erection of the new Athenæum Buildings, some very perfect architectural remains have been exposed; and as in the course of some few days it will be necessary to remove them, I have made the accompanying sketches. (See the accompanying plate.)

The building is north and south, and appears to have been sliced out of the parish of St. Nicholas: it stands in the parish of St. Leonard's, and nearly parallel with the remains of the ancient crypt of that church. The dimensions are 57·0 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in., with an entrance on the south side. Between these remains and Nicholas-street stands a building called Alderman Whitson's Mansion: he was one of the Bristol benefactors of olden times. From the architectural details, which are in good preservation, the date of the edifice can be generally ascertained, the principal part appearing to have been erected in the early part of the thirteenth century. On the west side three bays of circular arches are formed, springing from triple shafts, with moulded caps and bases. The exterior shafts appear more approaching to Norman, and those in the middle to Early Gothic. The shafts are elevated about 8 feet from the surface of the present ground, and a set-off in the wall

indicates a floor at the level of the bases of the shafts; on the opposite wall are two two-centred openings, at present forming recesses. The south wall is perforated by a most simple, Decorated, two-light, trefoil-headed window; and on the inside of the mullion, the curious contrivance (I believe found only in examples of windows of this date) of an addition to the upper part, for a bolt to fasten an inside shutter. I know of no other instance in Bristol of this peculiar feature; but at Bitton, Gloucestershire, there is a similar contrivance. Under the window is a very fine masonried, two-centred doorway: its jaumbs are worthy of remark, showing from what simply-formed mouldings beauty can be produced. The exterior exhibits only plain walls, excepting the east side, where there are two Norman buttresses.

JOHN BINDON.

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL, OF THE PRIORY OF DOMINICANS, BRISTOL.



PLAN OF THE REMAINS, (1845).*

THE city of Bristol has long been celebrated for its mediæval remains, both ecclesiastical and domestic. Most of the monastic buildings exist only on record. Some of their chapels, however, have been preserved as parish churches, but of their domestic portions, the subject of the following paper is the only example, of which sufficient is left to lead to even an approximation of its original form and character; and although the monastery of Blackfriars was by no means as extensive and magnificent as many of its contemporaries, yet, in their absence, it may be considered interesting, as indicating somewhat of the nature of domestic arrangements in the religious establishments of that time, and as affording matter for study in the simple yet elegant character of its architectural features.

Early in the 13th century, by the authority of Pope Honorius III., a new religious order of mendicant friars,

* The light shade indicates modern masonry and building.

instituted by St. Dominic de Guzman, was established in this country, and designated the Dominicans or Black Friars.* The principal and peculiar distinction of the "Fratres prædicatores" was necessarily that of poverty; and such was the effect produced on the minds of the people, by the contrast with the rich possessions and grasping character of the other clergy, secular and regular, that their establishments were not long in accumulating wealth and extensive revenues. On examination, however, we find that their riches were not expended in shows, in their buildings, or on themselves; for they continued faithful, to a great extent, to their profession, and still presented the appearance and reality of a hard rule of life. Nor must we forget that from amongst the Dominicans and Franciscans emanated some of the most learned of the day, and that they numbered in their community men whose names will ever be remembered with veneration and esteem.

It was for monks of this order that Sir Maurice Berkeley de Gaunt and Mathew de Gurney founded the priory under consideration. Sir Maurice, who took the name of Gaunt "from the family property of his wife Alice,"† was the son and heir‡ of Robert the second son of Robert Fitzhardinge, and heir to his uncle Mauritius de Gaunt. This Robert also adopted the name of his wife. Of the other founder we have scarcely any account, further than that he was the younger brother of Sir Maurice de Gaunt, retaining, however, his own family name. The following transcript of William of Wyrcestre, from the register of the monastery, shows the esteem in which it was held by the higher as well as the lower classes of the people.

"In martirologio kalendarii fratrum prædicatorum Bristolliæ.

"Johannes Vielle, armiger, primus vicecomes Bristolliæ, obiit 29 die marcii."

"Walterus Frampton obiit die 2 januarii."

"Wilelmus Curteys, qui fecit fieri magnam crucem in cimiterio, die 2 aprilis."

"Ricardus Spicer, mercator, obiit primo die junii."

"Mattheus de Gurnay obiit 28 die augusti—unus fundatorum fratrum prædicatorum."

* Called also Friars preachers ("Fratres prædicatores").

† Seyer's Memoirs.

‡ Leland.

"Domina Matilda Denys, quæ obiit die . . . octobris, anno Christi 1422."

"Dominus Mauricius de Berkle, et domina Johanna, uxor ejus, . . jacet in choro in sinistra altaris, die primo octobris."

"Dominus Wilelmus Dawbeny, miles, qui jacet in choro."

"Cor domini Roberti de Gornay jacet in ista ecclesia, qui obiit die 20 novembris."

"Dominus Ancelinus de Gurnay, qui jacet in choro, die 15 novembris."

"Dominus Mauricius Berkley, miles, obiit 26 die novembris."

"1429. Frater Wilelmus Botoner obiit die 15 decembris." *

Of the buildings of the convent we have no account beyond the somewhat laconic notice given by W. de Wyrcestre of the church, the ruins of which existed as late as 1748. He says—"Longitudo chori ecclesiæ fratrum prædicatorum continet 26 virgas vel 44 gressus. Latitudo chori continet 8 virgas vel 14 gressus. Longitudo navis ecclesiæ continet 31 virgas vel 58 gressus. Latitudo ejusdem continet 21 virgas vel 44 gressus." †

The present remains comprise two rectangular buildings, running east and west, and lying parallel to each other. (See plan.) The northernmost is considerably the longest, and probably formed the south side of the quadrangle, of which the nave of the church formed the north; this is apparent from the corbels that still remain in the north wall, and which doubtless supported the principals of the cloister roof. The communications from the ground floor on this side, and the set-off in the wall immediately below the sill of the upper windows, as well as the absence of any lights below, would seem to corroborate this supposition, and would thus fix the position of the church, the length of the building being that of the cloister (viz.) 40 paces.‡

The whole of the south wall and the floors are modern, and the apertures in the lower part of the north wall are blocked up.§ At the west end were the remains of a door-

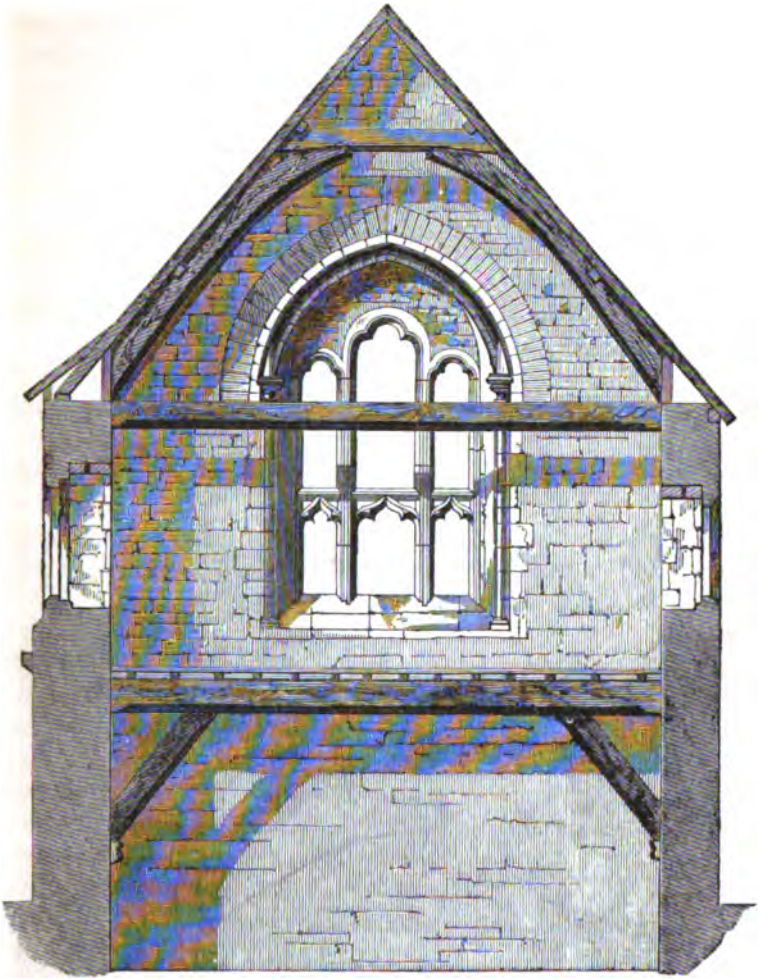
* Itiner. W. de Wyrcestre, edit. Nasmyth, p. 233.

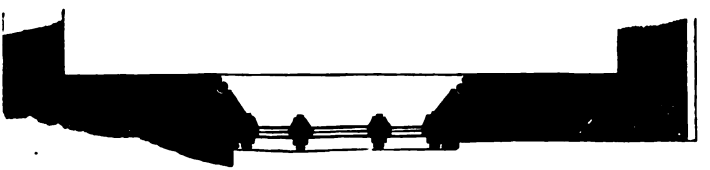
† Edit. Nasmyth, p. 233; at p. 188 it is stated—"Chorus ecclesiæ fratrum prædicatorum continet 45 gressus."

‡ "Claustrum eorum ex omnibus 4 partibus continet 40 gressus."—Itiner. W. de Wyrcestre, p. 188.

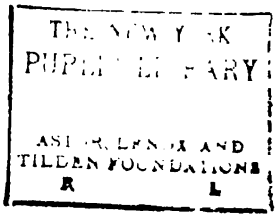
§ By the kindness, however, of the Architect, Mr. Wm. Armstrong, I am enabled to give, in the accompanying plan and section, the form and arrangement of the building, prior to the alterations.

PRIORY OF DOMINICANS, BRISTOL.





SECTION LOOKING EAST. $\frac{1}{8}$th of an inch to a foot.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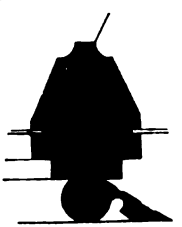
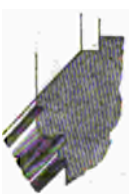
way that led into a small building, by which access was obtained to the upper floor; the mark where the roof abutted against the wall, is still visible; but every other vestige has been destroyed.

The floor, as shown in the section, was supported by oak beams, 15in by 16in., and struts 12in. by 8in., resting on stone brackets. The upper story consists of one long unbroken apartment (the dormitory). It is lighted by a series of lancet windows in the north wall, and formerly by a similar series, but square headed, in the south wall. The west window is of two cinque-foliated lights, and the head filled with tracery of no ordinary degree of beauty. The rear arch is chamfered, and the jambs are widely splayed. Below this window, on the exterior, may be seen the arch of a doorway which formerly opened into the lower apartment; it is semi-circular, and has a plain round molding. The east window, now seen, has been removed from its original position in the east wall of the other building, which is seventy or eighty years older, and of the matured early English style. It consists of three trefoiled headed lights, the centre one being higher and wider than the others; the mullions and string below, or rather forming part of the sill, are molded in a bold but elegant style:

W. Window, Dormitory. ¼ of an inch to a foot.



Mullion.



String.

the former are chamfered merely on the inside; but the rear arch, supported by its nook shafts, with their beautifully molded capitals and bases, more than compensate for the loss.* The roof, which is an original one of the 14th century, is divided into twelve bays. The scantlings of the timbers are:—footbeams, 12 in. by 9 in.; principals, 12 in. by 5 in.; rafters, 6 in. by 6 in.; braces, 11 in. by 3 in.; purlines, 8 in. by 5 in.; and wall plates, 4 in. by 3 in. The whole length of the dormitory inside the walls, is 86 feet 3 inches; and the breadth or width 23 feet.†

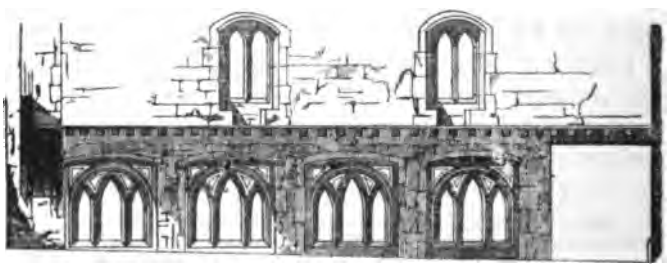
Cap & Rear Arch. Mold.

We come now to the other vestige of the monastery (known as "the Baker's hall"), which lies about 58 feet south of, and within a few inches parallel to, the dormitory. It is, as before mentioned, of earlier date, and may very probably be referred to the time of the original foundation in 1229. Upon the ground floor are the remains of a cloister‡ (on the north side) communicating with an open space formerly occupied by cloisters; northwards, and with various domestic offices on the south side, in one of which the fireplace and its accompanying chimney are still extant. The upper story of this building was apparently the lesser hall of the Friary. It still possesses features to interest, though perhaps little to admire; it should, however, be seen prior to the other building, as

* The walls vary from 2 ft. 9 in. to 3 ft. 10 in.

† The details are drawn to a ½ in. scale.

‡ For the measurements from which this restored drawing is made, I am indebted to the kindness of the gentleman before mentioned. The lights of the upper windows are the only portion for which I have no authority. The original character of these windows was destroyed, on their removal to a new cloister; but fragments that have been discovered of the others are still preserved.



Section through Cloister. $\frac{1}{16}$th of an inch to a foot.

otherwise the barbarisms of whitewashed roofs and doors, sham ceilings and sash windows (likewise whitewashed), will appear by comparison the more offensive. The hall is lighted on three sides, the east window, as has been already noticed, having been removed; the rear arches of all the other windows and some very much mutilated remains of a fireplace in the west wall, together with the roof, which is only visible in places, are preserved; the latter is especially interesting as being in all probability of the same age as the building it covers. It is divided into six bays by obtusely pointed ribs * supporting collars, from which rise king-posts connected to one another by means of curved longitudinal struts; the acute angles formed by the principals and the collars are destroyed by the insertion of small curved pieces, which add greatly to the effect. The principal timbers are chamfered, and the pitch of the roof is good. The length of the hall, inside the walls, is 49 feet 3 inches, and the width 24 feet 3 inches. The thickness of the walls varies from 2 feet 9 inches to 3 feet 6 inches.

Having, then, the relative positions of the lesser hall, the dormitory, and the greater hall † of the priory fixed, together with the inference I have before drawn relative to the church, it requires but little knowledge of conventual establishments to form something like an adequate idea of the extent and arrangement of the buildings of the priory, especially as the boundary lines mentioned by William of Wyrcestre are still attainable. I cannot, however, close this paper without drawing attention to the miserable state of the building last described, the principal features of which (the roof) would, I think, on thorough exposure, prove to be (as I have already intimated) one of those examples of early English carpentry, whose peculiarly rare occurrence renders them so much the more interesting and valuable.

E. W. Godwin.

* The corbels or pillars, if any, have been entirely destroyed.

† From the ancient character of the base of the meeting-house connecting the two former buildings, and from its extent and situation, I have concluded it to have been the remains of the great hall.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS AT BRISTOL, WELLS, GLOUCESTER, AND EXETER.

BY C. WINSTON, ESQ.

My principal object in writing this Paper is to call attention to the remains of painted glass in Bristol Cathedral, and the Mayor's Chapel; but as Wells, Gloucester, and Exeter Cathedrals are easy of access from Bristol, and contain many interesting specimens of painted glass, I have been induced to include in this sketch a short notice of the remains existing in those edifices, in the hope that it may prove useful to such persons as are inclined to pursue the subject further. I do not pretend to do more than call attention to these interesting specimens; to examine them at length would occupy too much time; and, I should add, that not having visited Bristol and Exeter since 1849, Wells since 1848, and Gloucester since 1846, the remarks I am about to offer must be taken as applicable to the state of the glass at those periods respectively.

I propose to notice:—1st, the Bristol glass; 2ndly, the Wells; 3rdly, the Gloucester; and, lastly, the Exeter.

The first window that claims our attention is the east window of Bristol Cathedral. In 1847, it underwent a judicious restoration, in course of which the encrusted dirt was removed, which obscured the glass and rendered the more delicate ornaments invisible, such as the diaper patterns in the arms and the border of the window. The ancient glass was scrupulously retained, and modern used only to supply actual deficiencies; so that *this* window has lost nothing of its interest by being restored.

A great deal of modern glass was necessarily employed in the lower lights, and in the three upright lights in the upper part of the window, the design of the modern glass being taken, as much as possible, from the original fragments now

worked up in those lights, and from the slight sketch given of the window in "Lyson's Gloucestershire."* The remainder of the window, however, is filled with the original glazing. The old work, throughout, may be easily distinguished from the new, by the different texture of the glass.

The window represents a stem of Jesse. The lower lights contain figures of the Virgin and Infant Jesus, as well as prophets and kings; in several of which figures portions of the original glazing may be observed. Each figure is enclosed in an oval panel, formed by the ramifications of a vine branch. Some of the foliaged scrolls in the heads of the lower lights (which are principally original)† are remarkably graceful in design. The ancient ruby ground of the scrolls is enriched by the unusual addition of a diaper pattern. Diaper patterns, indeed, are used with remarkable profusion in this window, and being executed with uncommon boldness are exceedingly effective. The figures and scrolls again present themselves in the three upright lights in the upper part of the window, in the centre one of which is represented the crucified Saviour, and in the two others the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist; original parts of all these figures remain.

The design of the glass in the tracery lights is made to harmonize completely with that of the lower lights, by the introduction, by way of ornament, of scrolls of foliage into the principal openings. The heads of Prophets, or Patriarchs, are even inserted in the middle of eight of the smaller tracery lights: these heads are the only part of the design which cannot be easily made out from the floor of the choir. The *black letter* monogram, ℑ ℌ ℭ, in one of the spandrels, should be noticed as being evidently an *insertion;* it is painted on later glass than the rest. In the upper tracery lights is a display of heraldry, of singular excellence, by the aid of which we may perhaps venture to refer the date of the glass to the latter part of the reign of Edward the Second.

The absence of Gaveston's arms from the window proves, I think, conclusively that the glass was put up after the murder of that favourite in 1312; and the presence of the Earl of Hereford's arms appears to afford some evidence

* See Lyson's Gloucestershire, plate xcii.
† One is given in Lyson's Gloucestershire, plate xciii.

that the glass was put up before 1322, in which year Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was slain in open rebellion against his sovereign. At all events, I think it clear that the glass was put up before the ascendancy of Mortimer, Queen Isabella's favourite; for not only are his arms omitted, but those of two of his victims are present: viz., of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who was put to death in 1326; and of Le Despencer, or Spencer, who also perished in the same year. The son, having married one of the sisters and eventual heiresses of the last Gilbert of Clare, who died in 1314, and having become Earl of Gloucester, will sufficiently account for the presence of the Clare coat.

The royal arms of England—the three lions on a red field—of course have allusion to the sovereign; and the fleur-de-lis border to some of the lights may be well supposed to have reference to the French ancestry of Queen Isabella.

On the whole, I think, there is no objection to assigning the year 1320, or thereabouts, as the probable date of the glass in the east window.

The glass in the side windows of the choir will, I fear, require a somewhat more detailed description, on account of its mutilated and confused condition.

It will be convenient to mention, first, what I conceive to be the remains of the original glazing of these windows; and to begin with the second window from the east on the north side of the choir.

It is evident, I think, that the glass in the tracery lights, and in the pierced transom, as well as that composing the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,—in the three upper lights,—belongs to the window; but I do not think that any of the original glazing of the three lower lights remains, except the canopy spires in the cuspidated heads of the two outer lights. The occurrence of the heraldic border of fleurs-de-lis and lions, in the tracery lights and both tiers of lower lights, certainly affords a strong ground for thinking that the glazing, which I have designated as original, formed part of one and the same window. It is easy, I think, to perceive what was the original design of the window when in a perfect state. The topmost tracery light, now devoid of painted glass, was no doubt ornamented in the same way as the two others. Each of the lower lights in both tiers contained a canopy; but whether the canopies

in the lower tier of lights covered single figures only, or one group of figures like the canopies in the upper tier of lights,—as also, whether, in either tier, the pictures reached down to the bottom of the light, or had some ornamental pattern beneath them,—must remain pretty much a matter of conjecture. The group alluded to, in the upper tier of lights, will repay examination. The figure of St. Sebastian, pierced with arrows, occupies the centre light. An archer, shooting at him with a bow, is conspicuous in the eastern light; and the head of a corresponding archer exists in the western light, but is so obscured with dirt as to be scarcely visible. Immediately below the figure of St. Sebastian is represented a regal person lying asleep, with a dog having one foot on his shoulder, and apparently licking his face with its tongue. This painting does not seem to have any connection with the legend of St. Sebastian, and was probably brought into such close proximity to the Martyrdom in the course of repairs. Can it represent the "Story of the king who was rescued, by the fidelity of his dogs, from a sedition plotted by his courtiers;" to which story allusion is made, by Mr. Hudson Turner, at page 262 of his recently published History of Domestic Architecture?

In the next window, the glass of the tracery lights is original; and so, I think, are the canopy spires in the two easternmost of the lights of the upper tier, and some, if not all, of the canopy spires which fill the cuspidated heads of the lights of the lower tier. The merchants' marks in the two quatrefoils, and the little ornaments in the spandrels under the transom, are undoubtedly in their original position. Of course, nothing further can be conjectured respecting the design of the window when perfect, than that the lower lights contained figures and canopies, with probably an heraldic panel beneath each canopy. It is reasonable to suppose that the donor of the window was a merchant.

The remains of original glazing in the first window from the east, on the south side, are even more scanty. None of it exists above the transom; but in the quatrefoils below the transom are two coats of arms, undoubtedly in their original situation, which may be the means, at some future time, of throwing considerable light on the question of date. One of the shields, that in the easternmost qua-

trefoil, displays, on a white field, a yellow chevron, on which three bucks' heads caboshed are depicted, in outline; and therefore are yellow also.* This apparently false heraldry is ascribable to the by no means uncommon practice, especially of the more ancient glass painters, whenever they wished to save themselves trouble, of painting in simple outline upon the field, or ordinary, any charge which could only be properly represented by leading in a piece of glass of a different colour. Had not the field of the coat been *argent*, I should have concluded that the chevron was properly coloured *or;* but in the present case the tincture, both of the chevron and its charges, is equally left in doubt. I have hitherto been unable to ascertain the ownership of this coat. Since writing these remarks, I have been referred to a Devon family, of the name of "Syrmington" or "Servington," whose coat—"ermine, on a chevron *sable* (sometimes *azure*), three bucks' heads caboshed, or,"—affords a clue to the coat in question. The other shield displays, or, three eagles sable—impaling, or rather, *dimidiated with*, the first-named coat. It is possible that this is the coat of Rodney, the glass-painter, for convenience sake having represented the *purple* eagles of that coat with enamel brown. I have met with the bearing of Castile,—*argent*, a lion rampant *purpure*,—represented by a lion painted black, with enamel brown, on a white piece of glass. Whatever be the alliance thus indicated, it may however furnish a clue to the date and presentation of the window. The remaining glass belonging to the window is the canopy spires which fill the cuspidated heads of three of the lower lights.

The next window retains none of its original glazing.

The interpolated glass next demands our attention. The most interesting portions of it are the figures of two knights—one displaying on his surcoat and shield a white cross on a red field; the other a red cross on a white field.† The first-mentioned figure, though divided, and part placed in each of the north windows, is, on the whole, in better preservation than the other, the only remaining portion of which, consisting of the legs and some part of the body,

* It is engraved in Lyson's Gloucestershire, plate xciii. fig. 7.

† See the engraving, in Lyson's Gloucestershire, plate xciv. Some mistake has been made in *colouring* this plate.

is preserved in one of the south windows,—the first from the east. But as both figures have evidently been painted from the same cartoon, the missing parts of the one may readily be supplied from the other.

The figure in the north window, which alone I shall describe, is armed cap à pie, with a visored basinet and camail, legs and arms in plate, or rather cuir bouilli; and the body clad in that peculiar garment which appears to form the connecting link between the surcoat and the jupon, and is called a cyclas,—having a square piece cut out in front, which exposes to view the mail and armour beneath. A shield suspended from the neck by a strap, and a lance with a triangular pennon, on which, as well as on the shield and cyclas, is represented the white cross on the red ground, completes the knight's appointments. The whole of the canopy, under which the figure stands, may be collected from the four windows, amongst which its parts are distributed. There can be no doubt that, originally, a panel containing a shield intervened between the base of the canopy and the sill of the window. Such a panel, with the arms of one of the branches of the house of Berkeley, and having a border attached of the same pattern as that belonging to the knight's canopy, may be seen in the north window next the east. The fragments of two other figures,—one a Pope, the other a Saint,—having attached to their canopies a border of the same pattern as that attached to the knight's, are scattered about three of the choir windows. Thus, reckoning the knight, four subjects, evidently belonging to one and the same window, remain. It would be inconsistent with what has been said, respecting the remains of original glazing in the two easternmost of the north and south windows, to suppose that these four subjects belonged originally to either of those windows. The only alternative is, to suppose that they originally belonged to some other window; as, for instance, the second window from the east of the north aisle of the choir, the four lower lights of which exactly correspond in size and shape with the dimensions of the knight's canopy, and of such a panel as I have suggested as having been originally placed beneath it.

There are also, in the easternmost of the north windows of the choir, the remains of a knight, bearing the arms of

Berkeley of Stratton depicted on his surcoat and square banner. This figure is larger than any of the four figures already mentioned, and is not at present connected with any canopy. Near it is another square banner, displaying one quartering of the Despencer coat,—gules, a fret or; and also the remains of another knight. The arms prove, I think, that the glass never belonged to either the eastern-most north or south window of the choir. It probably was removed from a window of the nave. The arms of Mortimer,* and many other interesting fragments collected in one of the north windows of the choir, seem in like manner to have been removed from other windows.

With regard to the date of the glass originally belonging to the side windows, I should not think that it differed from that already assigned to the glass of the east window, were it not for the heraldic borders of fleurs de lis and lions in the second window from the east, on the north side of the choir. A border of lions and fleurs de lis, though commoner in glass of Edward III.'s time, in this instance may have reference to Edward II. and his queen, Isabella of France. But however this may be, there can be very little difference between the date of this glass and that of the east window.

With regard to the interpolated glass, I am inclined to think that it also is of the same date, or nearly so, as the glass in the east window. The border of yellow eagles displayed, on a green ground, now in the first window from the east on the south side, may certainly, from the agreement of its colouring with that of the coat of Gaveston—who bore three or more yellow eagles, on a green field—be supposed to allude to that favourite, and therefore to be earlier than 1312; but for this supposition I should not have considered it to be older than the rest of the glass. With regard to the knights with the white and red crosses,—the opinion that they are impersonifications of the orders of the Hospitallers and Templars, would require the date of the glass to be put as early as 1307, when the Templars began to be persecuted in England; or, at least, as early as 1313, when the order was suppressed by the Pope: but so early a date can scarcely be reconciled with the use of the cyclas,

* These arms are engraved in Lyson's Gloucestershire, in one of the plates already mentioned.

and other peculiarities in the costume of these figures; and, judging only from the internal evidence supplied by the glass itself, I should not be more inclined to put these figures, than the eagle border, earlier than 1320. The costume of the figures would admit of a date as late as 1340.* It is therefore possible that these figures, like the fleur-de-lis and lion border in the other window, may be of the commencement of the reign of Edward III.; but it is impossible to be positive on such a point.

The rest of the glass in the Cathedral need not detain us long. The oldest specimen undoubtedly is the small quantity of glass remaining in the tracery lights of the east window of the *elder* Lady Chapel, and which is as early as the end of the reign of Edward I. There are some Perpendicular fragments in their original position, in the west and south windows of the transept, the colouring of which is remarkably rich. The east windows of the choir aisles are both of the same date. It would appear from the arms in one of the windows, that they were the gift of Dean Glemham, in the reign of Charles II. The dulness of these windows, as compared with the older examples, is occasioned by the mode of their execution; glass coloured with enamels being used, in accordance with the practice of the day, in preference to glass coloured in its manufacture.

MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL.

The glass in the Mayor's Chapel affords a means of contrasting the later styles of painted glass with the earlier styles in the Cathedral. The greater part of it was, I believe, brought from Mr. Beckford's house at Font Hill. Amongst other specimens of cinque cento work, I may mention an excellent figure of St. Barbara, in the east window; and a companion figure, of St. Catharine, of inferior merit. These, as well as most of the specimens of cinque cento, seem to be of Flemish workmanship. The scourging of Christ, in one of the north windows, is remarkable for the use made of "sprinkled ruby" to represent His lacerated body. In another of the side windows, —the first from the west,—is some late French ornamental work, exhibiting the cyphers, mottoes, and emblems of

* See as late an instance of the use of the cyclas, in Lyson's Berks, p. 424.

Henry II. of France, and Diana of Poictiers. Some of this glass is dated 1543.

In the west window of the south aisle of the chapel are some very good little German glass paintings; one of which is dated 1537. These works, which of course were originally intended for close inspection, show that it is possible to combine a very high degree of finish with a full display of the brilliant and sparkling qualities of a glass painting—a fact which modern glass painters are too apt to overlook.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.

The windows of this edifice, eastward of the central tower, retain a large proportion of their original glazing. And the glass is well worthy of examination, on account of its perfect state, and the general goodness of its execution. Unfortunately there is no other heraldry to guide us, as to its date, except the borders of lions and fleurs de lis, or of lions, or fleurs de lis only, which occur in most of the windows.

An inscription in one of the windows of the Lady Chapel, which might have decided the question, has unluckily been obliterated in its most important part. The words "*Ista capella constructa est*" are all that now remain. (It occurs in the first window from the east, on the south side of the Lady Chapel.) We are therefore left to infer the probable date of the glass from the internal evidence derivable from the style of the painting, the costumes, and texture of the material. And the conclusion that I have arrived at from these data is, that the Decorated glass at Wells is, as nearly as possible, contemporary with that of Bristol. Making allowance for a few years difference in date between the various specimens at Wells, I think we may assign 1320, or thereabouts, as the date of the glazing.

The east window of the Lady Chapel has been restored,—I wish I could add as conscientiously as the east window of Bristol has been; for the artist here has thought proper permanently to obscure the remains of the old glass, as well as the modern glass used in the restoration,—a device which, whilst it fails to render the modern glass undistinguishable from the old, greatly impairs the general effect of the window by depriving it of brilliancy. However, as there can be no doubt that the old design has been adhered

to in the restoration, the window in its present state shows at a glance, what the side windows show only on careful examination—that the lower lights of these windows were filled with two tiers of figures and canopies. The tracery lights of the east window are filled with angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. The topmost tracery light of three of the side apsidal windows contains the emblem of one of the Evangelists, the fourth emblem has evidently been lost: and the other lights of the window, on the north side next the east, contain heads of Patriarchs; and those of the opposite window the heads of ecclesiastical Saints. Some of these heads are very favourable specimens of the skill of the glass painters of the period, and the idea of filling these small openings with busts, instead of entire figures, was happy. The same mode of filling the tracery lights is adopted in some of the other windows in the immediate vicinity of the Lady Chapel, which retain their original glazing. Amongst the busts are the heads of sainted Popes and Bishops, the names being written on labels behind.

The east window of the choir is of singular design. The lower lights are filled with a Stem of Jesse, terminating, as at Bristol, with our Saviour on the Cross; and the tracery lights with a representation of the Day of Judgment. Magnificent as is its colouring, the general effect of the window, owing to the too crowded character of the composition, is inferior to that of the east window of Bristol. It is impossible to distinguish the small figures in the Judgment, clearly, from the floor of the choir; and the insertion of canopies over the figures in the Jesse tends to confuse the design.

The clearstory windows, on each side of the choir, had originally a figure and canopy in each of their lower lights. One of the figures, in the north window next the east, represents St. George, clad in a surcoat which reaches to the knee. He wears a helmet, avant and rerebras, shin pieces and sollerets of plate, or rather cuir bouilli, the rest of his person is defended with mail, on his shoulders are aiglettes. The costume of this figure appears to harmonize with the date assigned to the glass. In the tracery lights of this window is a continuation of the Judgment in the east window.

The remains of glass in the Chapter House are but trifling. They seem, I think, to be of somewhat earlier date than the rest, but still are of the time of Edward II.

There are some early Perpendicular fragments in the windows of the nave and transept. Some of the figures have the visored basinet and camail, the jupon, and heavy sword belt.

In the west window of the nave is some cinque cento glass, the more valuable as it happens to be a dated example. A Gascon inscription, as I believe, sets forth the year of grace 1507.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

The great attraction of Gloucester Cathedral is its magnificent east window, in many respects the finest in England. From the abundance of heraldry, in the lower part of this window, I have little doubt that its date could be ascertained with considerable exactness; but the task of making out the charges on the shields has, owing to the dirty state of the glass, hitherto proved beyond my power. Though a decided enemy to Restorations, which in nine times out of ten would be more truly called Destructions, I confess I have often wished that this window had been placed in the hands of that real restorer, to whose tenderness and care the present satisfactory condition of the east window of Bristol is due.

Under these circumstances, I can only hazard a conjecture, that the probable date of the glass is very early in the second half of the 14th century. It is in all respects thoroughly Decorated in character, though the architecture of the window possesses Perpendicular features principally. But, as a general rule, it is true, that a change in the style of architecture has always preceded, by some years, the corresponding change in the style of painted glass.

The glazing of the window is in its original position, and there is no ground for supposing that the somewhat sudden termination of the colouring towards the top of the window is accidental. On the contrary, it is evident that the arrangement of the glass in the upper part of the window is according to the original design.

The two first tiers of lights from the ground are filled with coloured borders and ornamented white quarries, a

shield of arms in a panel is inserted in each light, and a small ornamented roundel placed at some distance beneath it. The three next tiers of lights throughout the window are filled with figures and canopies, and, in the central part of the window, another tier likewise; the spires of this row of canopies running into the tier of lights above. This arrangement, as might be expected, imparts a grand pyramidical character to the whole design. All the tracery lights of the window are filled with ornamented white quarries, and enriched with small roundels of ornament inserted here and there.

The colouring of the lower lights—containing figures and canopies—is arranged on a principle not uncommon in Early Perpendicular glass. The figures are almost entirely white, having yellow stained hair, and borders to their robes: the architectural work of the canopies is wholly composed of white and yellow stained glass. The positive colouring is confined to the spire backgrounds of the canopies, and the tapestry which lines the interior of the niche. And it is carried in uniform streaks, or columns, down the window. Thus, the spire grounds and tapestries of the *central* column—which is two lights broad, all the other columns being only of the width of one light—are coloured red; those of the next column, on each side the centre one, are coloured blue; those of the next red,—and so on. The large proportion of white used in the most coloured parts prevents any violent transition, from the figure and canopy part, to the quarry part of the window.

The full effect of the Gloucester window, no doubt, depends not only on the simplicity of the composition, the largeness of its parts, and the breadth of its colouring, but also on the excellence of the material of which the window is composed. Still, I know no window so likely to improve by long contemplation the taste of modern glass painters, and their patrons, than this.

The side windows of the choir clearstory retain enough of their original glazing—which is precisely of the same date as that of the east window—to enable us to perceive that their lower tier of lights was filled with figures and canopies, and their upper tier and tracery lights with borders and quarry patterns, having small roundels of ornament inserted of the same character as the pattern

work in the east window. A corroborative proof, if any were necessary, of the originality of the arrangement of the glass in the upper part of the east window, with which the arrangement of the glass in the side windows so perfectly harmonizes.

There are very interesting remains of Early Perpendicular and Decorated glass in other windows of Gloucester Cathedral, to which I cannot further advert for want of time.

The east window of the Lady Chapel, which is in very fair preservation, is of the last half of the 15th century.

EXETER CATHEDRAL.

The foregoing list of 14th century glass would not be complete without some notice of the remains in Exeter Cathedral. But this will not detain us long. Very little of the glass is in its original position. I have no doubt, judging from its style, the absence of the yellow stain, &c., that the greater portion is of the latter part of the reign of Edward I.; and the later glass seems early in the reign of Edward II. Britton, in his history of the Cathedral, mentions that about 500 feet of glass was bought in 1303-4; and that a larger quantity was purchased in 1317, at Rouen. It is possible that some of this may be extant. I was much struck with the purity and hardness of the white glass composing even the earlier patterns; a feature which may likewise be remarked in the remains of Early Decorated glass at Westminster Abbey, and in Merton Chapel, Oxford. It is possible that this glass was obtained from a common source.

The most perfect window is the fourth from the east, on the north side of the choir clearstory. There is a great variety of very beautiful patterns, and many details of peculiar interest, in most of the choir windows, and the windows of the chapels about the choir. Several of these patterns have been so tastily touched up with colour in the last century,—by Peckitt, I presume,—as to be at first sight not a little puzzling. On the whole, the Exeter glass will be found to repay a visit.

The modern glass in the west window, and the ruby with which the old patterns have been retouched, is interesting; as being perhaps some of the latest ruby that was manu-

factured in England, before M. Bontemps revived the art. Some of the bull's eyes of this ruby are inserted in the east window of the choir. The date of the west window, I have been informed, is 1766.

Such is the account I have attempted to give of these ancient relics. I have purposely omitted many curious details, from a fear of trespassing upon your time more unwarrantably than I have done already. Yet, imperfect as this sketch necessarily is, it will not be useless if it should incite but one person to a *real* study of the subject of painted glass. It is only by repeatedly looking at ancient glass that we learn to appreciate its peculiarities. It is by slow degrees that the eye becomes accustomed to its tone; still more slowly, may I add, is the mind convinced that all styles of painted glass have their excellences and their defects. In approaching a subject on which there can be no appeal to any generally recognized standard, we cannot be too much on our guard against being deceived by our prejudices. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the study of glass painting; because it has, unfortunately, become associated with opinions with which it has only an accidental connection. Like architecture, painted glass has been, I know not why, regarded as a subject of almost purely ecclesiastical interest, and hence has been exposed to much misapplied criticism; a great deal of which has reference not exclusively to glass painting as such, nor to any mode of representation, and is founded rather on theological than artistic considerations.

Certain styles of painted glass, and of architecture, moreover, have been regarded as objectionable, or made the theme of enthusiastic admiration; not so much on account of their intrinsic defects or excellences, as from a dislike or predilection for certain views which are thought to be necessarily associated with such styles. For instance, we all know that by a certain class of writers, Palladian architecture, although so widely differing from the classical styles, and although it has been actually more universally employed for ecclesiastical purposes than the Gothic, is branded as "Pagan," and unholy; whilst Gothic architecture alone rejoices in the appellation of Christian architecture, and certain symbols of acknowledged Pagan origin, such as the crescent of the Virgin, by being associated with

it, are, as we are told, "hallowed." In like manner, the cinque cento style of painted glass is held up to scorn and reprobation as a "Paganism;" whilst that of the 13th century, "the age of faith," is considered to be truly Christian. It is not for me to inquire whether such epithets are properly or improperly applied, or whether Christianity has deteriorated ever since the time when the spirit of ecclesiastical domination was curbed; but that the continued use of these, as well as of other nicknames, is intended to create a prejudice, and does, in fact, not unfrequently produce this result with unreflecting persons, is indisputable. The student of glass painting must however be superior to such influences. He will find that all styles of ancient glass are equally worthy his attention; and, in particular, will not fail to perceive that, on comparing one with another, inferiority on one point is not unfrequently compensated by, if not the cause of, superiority on another; or, to be struck with the general consistency of convention practised in each style. For instance, the intense and sparkling colouring common to glass paintings of the 14th century, is sought for in vain in a cinque cento glass painting; and the delicate execution of the cinque cento is equally wanting in the earlier work; yet it is unquestionable that the delicate shading employed by the cinque cento artists would, in great measure, be lost in the powerful colouring of a glass painting of the 14th century; and it is certain that nothing would be more miserable in effect, than a work executed in the simple manner of the 14th century, upon the comparatively poor material of the 16th.*

I am much mistaken if the lesson to be learnt from an unprejudiced examination of all styles of painted glass, will not tend to a belief that the modern system of copying or closely imitating old work is erroneous; not only on artistic principles, but considered as a means of merely reproducing their effect.

I am aware that certain writers, more distinguished, perhaps, for the flippancy of their remarks than the accuracy of their statements, deny the existence of any perceptible difference between the glass, for instance, of the 14th century and that used in imitation of it. But, as the exist-

* Messrs. Pugin & Hardman's imitations of 13th and 14th century glass most fully prove the correctness of the opinion stated in the text.

ence of such difference is capable of easy proof, and as these self-styled "leaders of the movement" are, notwithstanding their pretensions, only following the lead of public opinion, I shall expect to find them asserting their belief in its existence, as soon as that belief becomes popular; as it must, if such examination of old glass as I have recommended be generally made. Believing, as I do, that although glass might easily be manufactured more harmonious in its tone than that now used, yet, that it will ever be a matter of extreme difficulty to reproduce the diaphonous, rich, or pearl-like material of the 14th and previous centuries: I confess I see no reason for abandoning or qualifying any of the views I have long since expressed, relating to the invention of a 19th century style of glass painting, sufficiently plastic to mould itself into conformity with the character of edifices of different dates:* and, in the formation of which, ideas, especially as regards arrangement of colour, should be freely borrowed from those later styles in which a material was employed not dissimilar in character from that which can now, or will, in all likelihood, be obtained. Even if the time permitted, it would be premature, if not unnecessary, to enter into the details of the scheme more fully than I have done already on various occasions; since I am persuaded that, if the necessity of forming a new style is conceded, the mode of carrying it into effect will soon suggest itself. The opinion that a new style is necessary, to meet technical difficulties and the requirements of the age, is all that I seek to establish. The only indulgence I crave is, that the subject may be *thoroughly* investigated before that opinion is condemned.

C. WINSTON.

* Since the above remarks were in type, some experiments, the result of which I stated in a paper read before the Royal Institute of Bristol Architects, 14th June, 1852, have shown the possibility of making white and coloured glass equal in tone, and true to that of the 12th and 13th centuries. Still the necessity for a 19th century style continues; although the discoveries alluded to will involve a modification of some of my previously expressed views as to what that style should be.

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF BRISTOL.

In presenting this brief memoir of the many interesting sepulchral monuments of the city of Bristol, I do not claim originality, having availed myself, to a great extent, of the assistance of various historical evidences, and also of that of many excellent works published on the subject.

The earliest sepulchral monuments in this country consisted of heaps of stones and burrows or tumili of earth, which were raised at the place where the ashes or body of the deceased were deposited; and some have supposed that the more in reputation the person had been, the higher the tumulus was raised over the remains. The first instance on record of burial in churches is that of Augustine, the Roman missionary to the Anglo-Saxons, who was buried in the year 1091, in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by himself, and standing just without the walls of Canterbury. When the practice of burying in churches and cemeteries came into use, grave stones were made and tombs erected to mark the place where the deceased had been buried. Among the various antiquities which the city of Bristol possesses, a great number of sepulchral monuments are to be found in its cathedral and other churches, which, although they are not so sumptuous and magnificent as those to be found in many other cities, yet they have been set up to commemorate persons who have, perhaps, been unequalled for their generous and benevolent actions. The remains we possess of these memorials may be classed into five kinds, viz.:—stone coffins, incised slabs, altar tombs with recumbent sculptured effigies, inlaid brasses, and mural monuments. Time and violence have destroyed many of these memorials, and many of those which remain have suffered from age, neglect, and modern innovations; but, generally speaking, sufficient is left to trace out their various characteristics.

Several years ago an ancient coffin lid was removed from the situation it then occupied in the churchyard, to the interior of the north aisle of St. Philip's Church. The coffin lid has no inscription; but on the top is a peculiarly carved cross, and round the edges a series of interesting Norman arches enriched with the dog-tooth moulding. During the restoration of the chapter-room attached to the cathedral, several stone coffins were discovered, some having been previously moved, and others remained in their original position; and upon being opened, remains of the bodies were found encased in horse-hair shrouds, with the interstices filled up with earth. One of these coffins had a rude carving on the lid, which Dean Beeke, who took great interest in works of art, caused to be built into the wall of the muniment-room, where it can now be seen by those who feel an interest in examples of ancient sculpture. The subject is also very remarkable, and has been supposed to represent the descent of the Saviour into hell. Near the south porch of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, are remains of three coffins; one of them has a slightly relieved sculptured effigy on the cover, with two words in old characters under it, deciphered by Barrett as commemorating "Joannes Lamyngton," who was chaplain in 1398; this coffin was found under the west window of St. Sprite's Chapel, which originally stood in the churchyard, and was pulled down in 1766. The coffin adjoining is quite plain, has a splayed edge round it, with marginal inscription in Lombardic characters very much defaced; the other one is of a very diminutive size, and has a small effigy on it.

The crypt of St. Nicholas Church is said to have been originally a cemetery of the ancient church, subsequently used by the Fraternity of the Holy Ghost as a chapel. It contains a stone coffin discovered in 1821, having a finely carved cross on the cover, and on the right edge a very imperfect inscription, by which it has been discovered that the remains of Mabel and Richard le Draper were deposited in it, in the year 1311. On its being opened the remains of a perfect male skeleton were found, and at his feet a skull with some fragments of bones, possibly those of the female here interred, the body appearing to have been burnt to inclose it within the coffin. It appears that many years ago the walls of this crypt were surrounded by coffins:

only one, besides that mentioned before, now remains, which is to be found in the east end. In Bristol Cathedral is a stone at the end of the Lady Chapel, with a carved head and cross fleurie carved on the top surface: it is attributed to Abbot David, who died in 1234. It is of the shape of a coffin, but of too diminutive a size to lead one to infer that it actually is the coffin containing the remains of the Abbot.

There are several very fine examples of incised slabs in the city of Bristol, but they are mostly so much mutilated and defaced as to make it impossible to trace out whom they were intended to commemorate. This kind of memorial was most frequently laid on the floor in the shape of a coffin lid, being broader at the head than at the feet. Inscriptions and epitaphs were engraved on them, to the individual they commemorated, and very frequently the symbols of his trade or profession, and other ornaments, were introduced. In St. Mary Redcliffe Church is a curious slab to the memory of William Coke, who was cook to the founder William Canynges, and has the symbols of his occupation, viz. a knife and skimmer, engraved on the stone, with an old letter inscription on the top. There are several other incised slabs in this church, Temple Church, St. Peter's Church, and the Mayor's Chapel, with beautifully sunk foliated crosses engraved on them, and inscriptions round the edge, the incised parts being filled in with lead; but from their inscriptions being so much obliterated (and in some cases only fragments remain), nothing is known of them more than their remnants. In the crypt of St. Nicholas' Church are some very handsome crosses fleuries in good preservation, sunk in pennant stone; and in the crypt of St. John's, immediately under the window sills, are several altar tombs, containing incised floriated crosses and inscriptions, but which are almost lost through the ravages of time and neglect. Within an arched recess in the wall on the south side of the same crypt, is an altar tomb with panelled front, and a white marble slab on the top, containing incised figures of a man and two women, with an obliterated inscription underneath them: the man is attired in a long robe with a gypciere at his side, showing possibly that he was a merchant; and the two females have long flowing gowns, girded at the waist, and veiled head-dresses.

Sculptured effigies were first introduced in low relief on the lid of the coffin, sunk down below the top surface, making it appear as though the occupant of the coffin was seen through the top of the cover; in some instances part only of the statue was seen, such as the face, hands, feet, &c., the lid being so formed on the top as to represent apertures through which they were seen; the outline round the effigy generally represented the interior form of the coffin, and afterwards developed itself into the form of traceried canopies, which very probably gave rise to the canopied niches we find adorning the buildings of the middle ages. After this introduction a bolder and more elaborate style of carving was adopted, leading to the introduction of those fine full size statues we find on altar tombs; and so valuable to us in presenting, in some instances, the only portraits to be found of the persons commemorated, also as examples of the costume of various periods. The effigies generally received a large amount of decoration at the time they were erected, not only from architectural accessories, but from the lavish display of gilding and painting which was bestowed upon them; unfortunately, the fashionable style of decoration adopted during many years past, have been a free use of white lime and yellow ochre, concealing the beautiful colours which they once possessed, and destroying the sculpture by filling up the cavities; but we have now to thank the existence of Architectural and Archæological Societies that more interest is taken in the restoration and preservation of these beautiful works of art.

Bristol Cathedral.—In this Cathedral are eight richly ornamented recesses formed in the walls of the chancel and aisles; they constituted part of the original design, being constructed when the edifice was rebuilt by Abbot Knowle; they were then occupied by some of those monuments which were in the older church, and subsequently from time to time as they were required, to other individuals. Two of these recesses in the north aisle are vacant. The three recesses in the chancel contain the monuments of distinguished ecclesiastics. That nearest the east end, on the north side, is to Abbot Knowle, the refounder of the abbey, who is said to have refused for interment the corpse

of his murdered sovereign, Edward II., and died in 1332. The front of the tomb is very richly carved and panelled; but a portion of it being concealed by the paving, shows that the floor of the chancel has been raised above its original level. The adjoining monument is stated by Barrett to be to Abbot Newberry, who was a great benefactor to the church, and died in 1463; later writers have attributed it to the last abbot of the monastery, Morgan Guilliam ap Guilliam; he died in 1553. The monument on the opposite side is to abbot Newland, alias Nail-heart, who beautified the church and added many buildings to it; he wrote its history and an account of the Berkeley family, which is still in manuscript at Berkeley Castle; and from his charitable deeds he received the appellation of the Good Abbot; he died in 1515. At his feet is a shield supported by angels, containing his rebus—a heart pierced through with three nails. Rebuses were in common use about this period, and were so much approved by the ecclesiastics that every bishop and abbot used them, although they may have been entitled to heraldic bearings.* All these effigies are very beautifully carved, in full pontifical robes, the heads mitred, and each carries a pastoral staff on his right side; they are very much mutilated, and the fronts of the tombs have been cut away for the introduction of the unsightly pewing improperly introduced in this part of the edifice; the figures have also suffered from the prevailing use of the white-wash brush. Near the pulpit is an altar tomb in a debased style, containing the statue of a skeleton, lying with its head on a mitre, and a pastoral staff on the right side; it is to the memory of Paul Bush, the first bishop of the Cathedral, who, having incurred the displeasure of Queen Mary by marrying, was obliged to resign his bishopric, and died in 1558. At the lower end of the south aisle, in one of the recesses, is the effigy of Thomas Lord Berkeley, who died in 1243; it was covered with chain armour (which is now either filled up or has disappeared), surmounted by a plain loose surcoat, which is fastened round the waist by a baldrick; a shield charged with the Berkeley arms lies on the left side, and some indications are left of a sword; the head rests on

* The rebus of Abbot Burton who erected the altar-piece, was a bur, or shrub, growing out of a ton.

a pillow, and over it is a *coiffe de maille;* the feet are supported by a dog and lie cross legged, a position which has caused much discussion among antiquaries, but in this instance we have satisfactory evidence that he was a Knight Templar, and was obliged to enter himself as such through displeasing his sovereign Henry III. In the next recess is another effigy of the Berkeley family, supposed to be to the memory of Maurice Berkeley, the second lord of that name, who died in 1281. This effigy is clothed in armour, surmounted by a surcoat and girded; a shield containing the Berkeley arms is on the left side, the head is supported by angels, and an animal is at the feet. In the south aisle, under an arch in the thickness of the south wall, which was formerly open to the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, now used as a vestry-room, is an altar-tomb which can only be seen from the vestry; it is very finely ornamented and contains five shields charged with coats of arms of the Berkeley, Ferrers, and Quincy families, and thereby attributed to the second Thomas, Lord Berkeley, whose wives were of the families above mentioned; his death occurred in 1321. Under one of the arches between the Lady Chapel and the choir is an isolated altar tomb, which had at one time finely carved canopied niches and buttresses round it, but much of the sculpture has been destroyed: on the top of it are recumbent figures of a male and a female; the male figure has armour of chain mail partly covered with plate, the chain armour being exposed round the neck, the hinder part of the legs, and the feet; a surcoat, on which are depicted the Berkeley arms, is thrown over the armour, a belt or baldrick is thrown over the right shoulder, and a sword lies on each side; the head is covered with a helmet resting on a mitre, and the feet are supported by a lion. The female figure has a veiled head-dress with the wimple or barbe under the chin, the use of which was restricted to the upper classes, and is attired in rich flowing drapery, with her head reclining on a cushion supported by angels, and her feet supported by a dog. This monument had been supposed to be to Robert Fitzhardinge, the founder of the monastery, who died in 1170; but it has since been attributed to the third Maurice Lord Berkeley, who died in 1368, and Elizabeth his wife; the

architecture of the monument and costume of the figures seem to confirm this supposition, but instances have been known of monuments being erected many years after the decease of the persons commemorated, and the figures habited not in the costume prevailing at the time of their death, but that of the time when the monument was erected.

South of the choir is a mortuary chapel, which has against its east wall a tomb of grey marble, once containing the effigies of the persons kneeling, and an inscription of brass under them; they were taken away during the civil wars, and were to the memory of Sir Richard Newton Craddock, who died in 1444, being one of the Justices of Common Pleas. The tomb is distinguished by the name of a chantry tomb, having an opening at the end, where the priest chanted the prayers for the repose of the dead. Against the south wall of the same chapel are two massive tombs of a date subsequent to the Reformation, one containing effigies of a man in armour and a female by his side, under them two sons and four daughters; it is to Sir Henry Newton, who died in 1599, and his wife; the other monument is to Sir John Newton, who died in 1666. There are a few other monuments in this Cathedral, erected at a time subsequent to those previously mentioned, and contrasting so much with them in simplicity and beauty of design, that it would be a waste of time to notice them.

The Chapel of the Hospital of St. Mark, now called the Mayor's Chapel, contains some very beautifully sculptured figures, but very few occupy their original positions. In the middle of the Gaunts' Chapel are two very fine effigies of knights represented cross legged; they are both habited in chain armour, surmounted by surcoats girdled round the waist, their heads enveloped in a *coiffe de maille*, leaving their faces open, and resting on diagonal pillows, and dogs supporting their feet; one of them is resting his right hand on his sword hilt, and on the left side of the other is a plain shield. It is uncertain whom these effigies represent; but Dallaway conjectures they are the effigies of Maurice de Gaunt and Robert de Gournay, the original founders of the hospital, and alludes to their having been placed in his time in their original situations, near the altar.

In the south aisle is a recess with tomb and effigy of Sir Henry de Gaunt, who was the first master of the hospital

of the Gaunts, about 1230; it is recumbent, and habited in a kind of cote-hardi laced up in front and reaching to the thigh, an embossed girdle to which was originally attached a sword depending on the left side, and a surcoat reaching down to the feet, fastened by a band round the neck; the feet have short boots buckled in front, and are supported by a dog. The front of the tomb is panelled; and although much mutilated, appears of a later date than is attributed to it. Under a canopy on the north side of the chancel is a beautiful carved marble recumbent figure of Miles Salley, Abbot of Einsham, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, who died in 1516. It is attired in the chasuble, dalmatic, and other ecclesiastical vestments, a mitre on his head, which rests on a pillow supported by angels, and a dog at the feet; a pastoral staff on the left side, with the crook turning outwards; and enriched by a scarf, the gloves jewelled, and a ring worn over them. Adjoining this is another altar tomb in a canopied recess, with the effigies of Sir Thomas de Berkeley, who died in 1361, and his wife. The knight is in plate armour, and has a sword at his left side, depending from a loose embossed girdle; he wears a helmet with his head resting on a mitre, and the feet of both figures are supported by dogs; the female figure has fine flowing drapery, a round cap, a necklace with a cross depending therefrom, and the head supported by angels. In the north aisle is an altar tomb, with the front and ends filled in with panels and shields, and in the centre compartment a monogram—J. C.—but no effigy or inscription; it is supposed to be to the memory of John Carr.

St. Mary Redcliffe Church.—The oldest effigy in this church is that in the north transept, of a knight represented cross-legged, having a coat of mail with surcoat, a shield on the left side, and the right hand on the hilt of his sword, which is dependent on the left side from a belt over the right shoulder; his head rests on an angular pillow, and a dog supports the feet. It is supposed to be the monument of Robert, Lord of Berkeley and Lord of Bedminster and Redcliffe, but with great uncertainty, some persons attributing it to William de Burton. At the eastern end of the north aisle is a richly sculptured canopied monument to the memory of Sir Thomas Mede; it consists of the altar tomb

and effigies of Sir Thomas Mede and his wife; the male figure is represented with a gown having loose cuffs and girded, with a large bag or purse on the left side, and a mantle; the heads of both figures rest on a pillow supported by angels, and have the feet supported by dogs. A brass inscription was once let in round the edge of the altar tomb, but only a small portion remains, giving the date of his death, the 20th December, 1475. He was sheriff of Bristol, and had a county seat at Failand, near the city. The architectural accessories of the adjoining tomb is a continuation of the last; it commemorates Philip Mede, brother of Sir Thomas, and his two wives, there is no sculptured effigy, but they are represented on a brass plate, which will be mentioned hereafter. The centre monument in the south transept is to the memory of one who did so much for the prosperity of the city, and lived in those times when men thought it their immediate duty to devote the greater part of their acquired wealth to him who gave it to them; it is to William Canynges, who was sixth time Mayor of Bristol in 1389; he was a merchant of great respect among his fellow citizens, and completed the erection of St. Mary Redcliffe Church. This monument was erected by him, when his wife died in 1466, as a memorial of her and himself, and contains two marble figures; he is habited in his magisterial robes and wears an anlace on the right side, and has an extraordinary circular head-dress, somewhat resembling a turban, over the left shoulder, with a long scarf hanging down in front of the figure.* The heads of both figures are supported by angels, and the feet by dogs. The female figure has a veiled head-dress, and a girdled gown and tippet. Adjoining this monument is an effigy in priest's robes, attributed to William Canynges, as dean of Westbury, which appointment he received after he completed the building of this church, in 1468. Dallaway gives the following account of this monument:—That he passed the last six years of his life at Westbury College, and had procured according to a practice not then unusual, his effigy to be carved and placed in the chapel there, with a remarkable figure at the feet, of an old man apparently in agony, embodying a metaphysical idea of putting off the

* An accurate representation of this interesting effigy was etched by Mr. Hollis, for his "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain."

old man, and from his having abandoned the lay character. When Westbury College was burnt down by Prince Rupert's army, in 1643, to prevent the parliamentary army from taking possession of it upon the surrender of Bristol, the monument was saved, and is now in Redcliffe Church. He founded in the year 1466 a chapel and chauntry, which was dedicated to the honour of God and St. George, and also another to the honour of God and St. Catherine, in the south transept, where he was buried. On the other side of the monument is another robed effigy, which has also been attributed to William Canynges, but with more certainty to the steward or purse bearer; he carries a large gypciere or pocket on his left side, and bears a similar head gear to that over Canynges's shoulder, and has a dog at the feet with a large bone in his paws.

Near the east end of the south aisle of St. James's Church is an effigy in a recess, attributed to Robert Earl of Gloucester, the founder of the church, who died in 1147, and was buried in a chapel in the middle of the choir of the priory of St. James, in a sepulchre of green jasper, supported by six low pillars. The figure is small, clothed in simple drapery, with a narrow belt buckled round the waist, one end depending nearly to the feet; the hair is long and curled, the right hand is laid on the breast, and the left gathers up the folds of an outer garment; from its effeminate proportions and being divested of martial panoply, great doubts have existed whether it was ever intended to commemorate the founder. It has been suggested to be the effigy of Eleanor, sister of Prince Arthur, who died in 1241, after being a prisoner in the castle for forty years, and was buried in the chapel of the priory of St. James, but was afterwards removed to the nunnery of Amesbury. This effigy, however, is certainly not the representation of a female, as the costume and other details undeniably show.*

During the repewing of St. Stephen's Church, in 1844, a sculptured recess was discovered in the wall of the north aisle, containing an elaborate altar tomb, with six recessed niches on the front, inclosing small sculptured figures emblematical of sorrow, surmounted by decorated canopies,

* See the accurate representation of this figure given by Mr. Hollis, in his "Monumental Effigies."

the buttresses separating the compartments terminating with shields. On the tomb are a male and a female figure. The male figure habited in a *cote-hardi* buttoned down the front and reaching to the middle of the thigh; an embossed girdle or belt is buckled across the hips, without any appendage; on the right side are indications of an anlace or gypciere. It has no head-dress, and the feet are supported on a lion. The costume of the female figure is a tight gown, fitting closely and concealing the feet, having two pockets in front; the head is covered with a square reticulated cap, and the feet rest on a dog. It is unknown whom they were intended to commemorate; some have supposed it to be the monument of John Shipward, merchant, who erected the tower in 1470; the monument appears to be of a much earlier date, and corresponds in style with those erected in the reign of Edward III., and probably belonged to an older church.* Barrett. in his History of Bristol, alludes to the west window having effigies of Shipward and his wife in stained glass, with an inscription, which most probably was their only memorial.

On the north side of the chancel of St. John's Church is a plain arched recess, containing the tomb of Walter Frampton the founder, who was mayor of the city in 1357, and filled the office twice afterwards. The front of the tomb is divided into seven compartments, containing shields emblazoned with heraldic bearings. On the tomb are effigies of the founder and his lady. He is represented in a robe or gown buttoned close down the front, and reaching to the feet, close-fitting ribbed cuffs appearing under the sleeves, reaching partly over the hands, the hair curled on each side, with no head-dress, having moustaches and a short beard under the chin. He has a narrow belt over the neck with an inscription, from which depends a short sword; the head is supported by angels, and the feet by a dog.

In the crypt of the same church is another altar-tomb with two effigies, attributed to Thomas Rowley and his wife, whose brass is in the church; the costume of the figures and the style of the monument differ very materially

* A representation of this beautiful tomb is given in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 82.

from the brass. The male figure wears the usual secular attire, a robe with a mantle, and has the head bare, with long hair at the sides. The drapery of the female figure is finely sculptured, with an open mantle secured at the neck, and she wears a short pedimental head-dress.

In St. Mary-le-Port and St. Peter's Churches are arched recesses, each occupying a corresponding situation near the east end of the north aisle, containing altar tombs, but with no effigy or inscription; in St. Peter's Church the monograms R A and I A appear in the carving of the spandrils.

In the east end of the south aisle of St. Peter's Church are two gigantic elaborately carved monuments of a late style, one to the memory of Richard Ardworth and his wife, who are represented kneeling face to face at a desk; he was a merchant and alderman of Bristol, and resided in the building called St. Peter's Hospital. He died in 1634. The other monument belonged to a family of the name of Newton, and contains the effigy of a lady lying on a richly carved sarcophagus, beneath a spacious canopy enriched with gilding and colours; this family resided at Barr's Court, and the monuments in the chapel at Bristol Cathedral belong to the same family; in front, below the tomb, is a sculptured figure of Death.

There are a considerable number of other monuments in the churches of Bristol, erected to the memory of great benefactors during a period when the style of art became very much debased; many presenting features of gaudy and meretricious ornament, such as are not worthy of imitation.

Monumental brasses were introduced about the commencement of the 13th century; this adaptation no doubt arose from the inconvenience of having a number of sculptured effigies in a church, and such memorials were very extensively used in this country; they demand our attention from the numerous beautiful varieties they present, the accuracy of their delineations, the excellence of their workmanship, and the easy manner in which they may be copied. The material of which they were composed was called latten, resembling brass, but more costly, and manufactured on the Continent; instances occur of such figures engraved in Flanders; the plates were generally embedded in pitch and secured to the stone with rivets. The incised lines were generally filled up with black composition, and the

ground-work of the figures, armorial bearings, tabernacle work, &c., was sometimes covered with enamel of various colours, or hard coloured paste, but very little is now left of this gorgeous decoration. The brasses existing in Bristol are good examples of this kind of monument, and in a very fair state of preservation. Upon the floor of the chapel, in the south aisle of St. Peter's Church, is a finely engraved figure of a priest, and an inscription, by which we find it to be to the memory of Robert Loud, chaplain of this church, and that he died in 1461. He is habited in the chasuble and other ecclesiastical vestments of the period, and has his hands uplifted, supporting a chalice with the consecrated wafer surrounded by a glory.

On the floor of the chancel of Temple Church is another brass of a priest, without date or inscription; he is habited in a cope, with an embroidered orfray down the front, and fastened at the neck by a morse or brooch adorned with a cross. This brass had been removed from the church, and was kept for some years in the sexton's kitchen, until the vicar properly caused it to be placed in its original position in the church. On the reverse side of this brass is engraved the figure of a lady. The date is considered to be 1460. In the Weavers' Chapel, at the same church, is a brass plate representing the bust or demi figure of a civilian, with his hands clasped together, and four Latin lines under it: the date is supposed to be 1396, but that has disappeared. He wears a hood and tunic with ornamented cuffs.

Preserved by the pewing of the Lady Chapel, in St. Mary Redcliffe Church, is a figure of a judge, habited in a long robe with tight sleeves, a mantle buttoned on the right shoulder; on his head a coif or close scull-cap, and sharp-pointed shoes are on his feet. A Latin inscription is placed under the figure, and round the margin is a fillet or inscription, by which we find it to be to the memory of Sir John Ivyns, who was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and died in 1439. A curious raised ornament fills up the space between each word on the marginal inscription, and all the letters are raised. In the chancel of the same church is a very handsome monument of John Jay and his wife; he was bailiff in 1456, and sheriff of Bristol in 1472: he was a merchant of great eminence, who married the sister of William Wyrcestre, and died in 1480. He is habited in

a long gown with loose sleeves, and has a girdle with rosary depending therefrom, and the head is covered with a coif. The female figure has a long tight gown girded at the waist, with tight sleeves, fur cuffs, and tippet. The head-dress is of that description called horned or mitred. Underneath the male figure are representations of six sons habited as himself, and under the female eight daughters habited as herself, with the exception of the coiffures, five wearing the wired head-dress, and the other three, round caps. The whole is enclosed in a very beautiful traceried double canopy, with buttresses at the sides; a system of decoration which was often beautifully introduced in these memorials. In the spandrils of the canopy and at the feet of the figures are four shields, two charged with a winnowing fan (?), and two with a peculiar mark generally known as a merchant's mark, it being customary at that time for persons who were not entitled to coats of arms to use certain marks, in which sometimes the initial letters of the merchant's name were introduced in a very distorted manner; these marks were also adopted as signs to distinguish bales of merchandise, and were possibly secret marks of the guilds of those days. Near this brass is another stone presenting a male and female figure, with inscription and shield charged with the arms of the deceased, being the memorial of John Brook, a judge, and his wife; he was judge of assize in the reign of Henry VIII., and died in 1525. The male figure is in his official robes, viz. a gown with loose sleeves, and underneath it another with tighter sleeves, and wears a coif, hood, and tippet. The wife wears a plain pedimental head-dress, a tight-fitting gown furred at the cuffs and bottom edge; it is secured by an ornamental girdle with two rosettes and a chain hanging from it, with a rosette and ornament at the termination. In the tomb to the memory of Philip Mede, against the wall under the canopy, is an oblong engraved brass plate of a knight, armed in plate armour, and wearing a tabard charged with his arms. There are two female figures representing his wives, who wear the pedimental head-dresses, gowns with tight sleeves and long girdles—one of them has a mantle charged with heraldic bearings; from their hands proceed inscribed labels, and over the figures is a half-length representation of the Deity surrounded by rays.

In the floor of the Chapel of Trinity Alms House, Old Market Street, are two stones with brasses inlaid on them, evidently removed from their original position, Barrett mentioning them as having been right and left of the altar. They were memorials of John Barstaple, merchant and burgess of Bristol, who served the office of mayor three times, and founded this hospital; also of Isabella his wife. He wears a loose gown girded round the waist, reaching to his ankles, with close sleeves; a short weapon on the left side between a dagger and sword, commonly worn until the end of the 15th century, hanging from a strap, and called an anlace. The wife wears a long flowing gown with tight sleeves, open up the front, secured by a sash, and showing the furred edge of the gown, and has a veiled head-dress with a barbe or wimple under the chin. Under the male figure is a shield with the merchant's mark extending considerably above the shield, and under the female figure a shield with a coat of arms. These two brasses had very elaborate canopies, which are now destroyed, but sufficient indications of their original form remain on the stones to perfectly restore them.

In St. John's Church is a brass to Thomas Rowley and his wife; he is said to have founded a chantry in the church, and is noticed as having been one of the bailiffs in the year 1466, sheriff in 1475; he died in 1478, and his wife in 1470. He is dressed in a close tunic reaching to the ankles, and the feet covered with short pointed shoes: a gypciere and rosary are attached to the girdle, and the tunic is covered with an open mantle lined with fur. The female figure is dressed in a long gown with fur tippet and cuffs, and the horned head-dress. Labels and inscriptions proceed from the mouths of the figures.

Under the seats of the cathedral, outside the choir, may be seen part of a stone showing the matrix of a handsome canopy, which Barrett says was removed here in 1684 from its position at the choir entrance, and was to the memory of Robert Fitzhardinge, Lord of Berkeley, the founder of the monastery, and his lady; if so, the brasses must have been engraved many years after their decease. We have records of several other brasses in Bristol. At one time there were in St. Peter's Church three figures to the memory of John Easterfield, who was a merchant and alderman of

the city, and died in 1507: also three effigies to the memory of Andrew Norton, Esq., and his wives, Elizabeth and Ellen; he died in 1527. At All Saints' Church was an engraved brass figure of Sir Thomas Marshall, one of the vicars of the church, who died in 1434. In St. Michael's Church was also a monumental brass, and many others have been destroyed. Besides the brasses described, there are several instances of mural tablets with brass plates; namely, at St. James', St. Werburgh's, and St. Stephen's Churches, in a very debased style of engraving, being done at a time when these sepulchral monuments lost every trace of that excellence of design which they previously displayed.

J. A. Clark.

ANCIENT COFFIN-SLAB IN ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

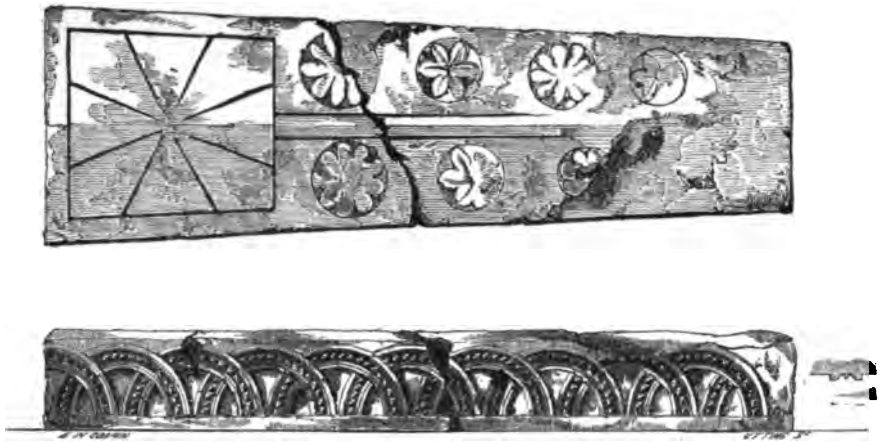
THE accompanying illustrations represent the top and one side of an ancient tomb-stone, now in the chancel aisle of St. Philip's Church, but which, previous to 1824, was lying in the adjoining churchyard.

The tomb, which is slightly ridged, tapers towards the foot. The sides are decorated in a rich and rather singular manner, by intersecting semicircles with the nail-head moulding. The east side, or that at the foot, is more elaborate than either of the others; the arch here spans the entire width of the tomb, and the spandrils, or spaces between, are filled with a kind of stiff-leaved foliage in low relief. The work on the top is incised, and consists of eight roundels—four on each side—placed irregularly, and enclosing nine and six-leaved flowers alternately. The spaces between the leaves are sunk, which would seem to indicate an unfinished state, and that the work, like that at the sides, was originally intended to have been in relief. At about two inches apart, and running up the centre of the tomb, are two incised lines forming a sort of shaft to a cross, which is enclosed by a trapezium of the form shown by the woodcut.

From the character of the sides, and the arrangement and design of the top, the date may, I think, safely be referred to the latter part of the 12th century.

In the accompanying illustrations I have shown the tomb in rather more perfect state than it actually is; the design, in its present mutilated condition, is not very easily distinguishable.

E. W. GODWIN.



ANCIENT COFFIN-SLAB, ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

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SHERBORNE, DORSETSHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. L. PETIT.*

As I have been requested to draw up, for the present meeting, a slight architectural sketch of Sherborne Minster in Dorsetshire, I need make no apology for selecting so distant an object, beyond observing, that as this fine church is now undergoing restoration, it is invested with a more immediate interest, and it is right to direct to it the attention of the antiquary, that he may notice any evidences of its history developed by the process, and also be enabled to offer such suggestions as may strike him as to retaining or changing any features existing at the time the work was taken in hand. I say this, as the beautiful south porch has been entirely taken down; and though it appears that the arcades in the lower part will be reconstructed, as far as possible, with the same individual stones, which are ranged in their order on the grass, still, from a drawing I saw of the proposed restorations, it seems to be the intention of the architect to give the upper part a high-pitched gable and pinnacles, with Norman details, instead of the horizontal parapet which is familiar to all who are well acquainted with engravings of the building, and which harmonized so well with its general lines.

With the exception of this porch, the general character of the church externally is a not very Early Perpendicular, the uniformity of which is owing to its almost complete re-erection shortly after a fire, which happened in the reign of Henry VI., in consequence of a dispute between the monks and the townspeople, the account of which, by Leland, is quoted in Hutchins' Dorsetshire:—"The monkes and the townes-men felle at variance, by cause the townesmen took privilege to use the sacrament of baptism in the

* Read at Oxford, 1850.

chapelle of Al-halowes. Whereupon one Walter Gallor, a stoute bucher, dwelling in Sherborn, defacid clene the font stone, and after, the variaunce growing to a playne seditione, and the townes-menne, by the meanes of an erle of Huntendum, lying yn these quarters, and takyng the townes-mennes part, and the bishop of Saresbyri the monkes part, a prest of Al-halowis shot a shaft with fier into the topp of that part of St. Marys Chirch that devidid the east part, that the monkes used, from that the townes-men used; and this partition chauncing at that tym to be thatchid yn the rofe, was sette a fire and consequently al the hole chirch, the lede and bells melting, was defacid. Then Bradeford abbate of Shirburn persecuted this inquirie, and the townes-menne were forcid to contribute to the re-ediffiyng of this chirch. But after this tyme, Al-Halowes Chirch, and not St. Maryes, was used for the paroche chirch. Al the est parte of St. Mary Chirch was re-edified in abate Bradeford's tyme, saving a chapelle of our Lady, an ole peace of work that the fier came not to, by reason that it was of an older building. Peter Ramesunne, next abbate saving one to Bradford, builded *a fundamentis* al the west part of St. Marie Chirch, as appears by his name and rebus in several places. Ramesunne, abbate, sette a chaplle caulhid our Lady of Bowe, harde to the south side of the old Lady chapple." In a note at the beginning of his Itinerary, vol. ii., he says, "John Samme [J. Saunders], abbate, did build the este part of the abbay chirch, and Peter Ramesun, abbate there, builded the W. part of the same chirch not many yeres syns."

William Bradford was elected abbot, 1436; died, 1459.

John Saunders was elected, 1459; died, 1475.

Peter Ramsam or Rampisham elected, 1475; died, 1504.

The style of the church answers altogether to this account, and I think we can perceive differences, both in the way of improvement and decline, between the works of the earlier and later part of the 15th century. But we will notice these presently.

Though the church owes its appearance, as regards detail, to the Perpendicular style, its original Norman plan and structure have not failed to influence its outline and proportions. We probably have no part that dates so far

back as the period when Sherborne was an episcopal see; but we have Norman remains, neither small nor unimportant, of a somewhat early Norman character. These are the north, west, and south tower arches, some arcades above these, now concealed by the late roof, but formerly seen from the body of the church, the tower having formed a lantern; and the arches from the aisles of the nave into the transepts. Both of the transepts also show Norman work in their side walls, not only the western but the eastern ones. The south porch was of late Norman, and an arch of that style appears in the west wall of the south aisle of the nave. There are also late Norman remains in a chapel on the east side of the north transept, opening into the aisle of the choir; viz. an arcade of round intersecting arches on its south wall. The east end of this chapel has an early English triplet of rich work. The eastern aisle, or chapel, of the same transept has also early work, probably transitional. The Lady Chapel, which still partly exists, though absorbed in the school-house built by Edward VI., is early English. A good Decorated window appears in the north aisle of the nave, and some remains to the westward of the nave are either Decorated or Early Perpendicular. In the Abbey buildings is a fine specimen of Norman work; being a room with a massive cylindrical column in the centre, supporting the vault, which has eight ribs of a square section.

The present church consists of—

A nave with aisles and a south porch;

A central tower, with a north and south transept. The north transept has an eastern chapel; the south, which is not of so high an elevation, has both an east and west chapel.

A choir, with an aisle on each side, and also eastward, as at Romsey;

A lady chapel, of which the western arch appears in this aisle east of the choir, and the remains may be seen in the school-house;

A chapel south of this, partitioned off by a screen, and with a roof which seems a continuation of that of the south aisle of the choir. This also is now incorporated in the school-house.

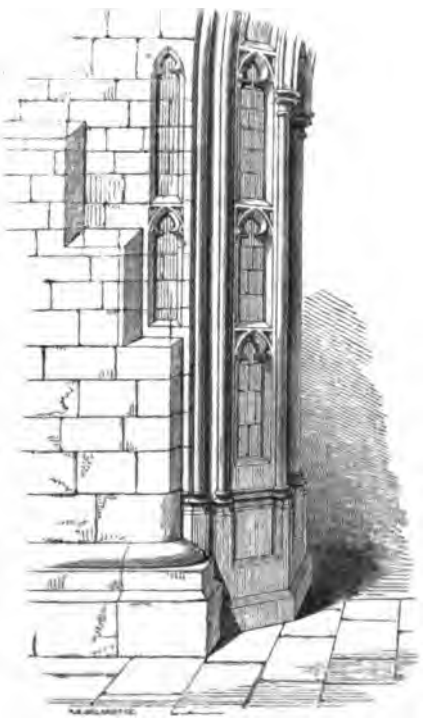
A chapel (called the vestry) north of the choir aisle, and

contiguous to the east chapel of the transept; a buttress of the later work of the choir cuts into this chapel.

On the north side of the nave were the cloisters, of which the indications are very clear. These seem to have been Decorated or Early Perpendicular. Leland speaks of them as having been built by Abbot Frith, "not long afore Bradeford's tym." He was confirmed in 1348.

The west range of these cloisters was annexed to the east side of a fine hall, probably the refectory, which now remains, though divided into floors. It is of Perpendicular character, and has a fine wooden roof. The approach to this hall is on the north side of the Abbey buildings, through a Norman doorway and vaulted passage, from which you ascend by a flight of steps. There is also another room, running east and west, with a still richer wooden roof.

Westward of the north aisle of the nave is a continuation of its north wall, exhibiting the division into bays, as though the nave had been considerably longer than at present. There are also piers engaged in the western wall, but they do not correspond, either in style, height, or position, with those of the nave. The distance between two opposite piers of the nave is 25 ft. 10·5 in.; but that between the external piers on each side of the western door, 19 ft. 4 in. The south aisle, outside of the present church, appears to have been 16 ft. 6 in. in width, and to have had still another aisle or chapel to the southward, if we can judge from the remains of a pier, which ranges with the wall of the south aisle



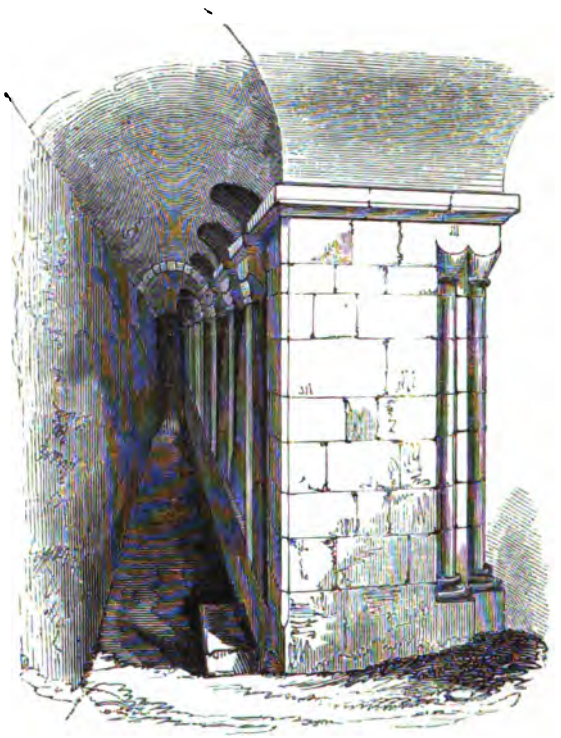
S.-W. Tower Pier, showing the Norman work and the later work.

of the church. In the west wall of the south aisle is a Norman arch, about equal to that of the porch, both in height and span, which opened into this western portion; thus indicating both a partition (the arch not being so high as the aisle vaulting) and a communication. The north aisle was about 14 ft. in width.

Now the present nave is of the same width as the ancient Norman one, as it corresponds with the tower arch now remaining, and it is not at all probable that there was a sudden change made in width in any part of a continuous nave. The cloisters also are adapted to the present nave; they are just what would have been designed for a building no larger than the church as it now appears. But again, the nave has hardly the proportion, in point of length, that a Norman nave of a large building usually had; and the Norman porch occupies the westernmost bay, instead of one somewhat removed from the west face. I cannot help thinking, that at a period antecedent to the fire, which happened in the fifteenth century, say for instance in Abbot Frith's time, the nave of the church was reduced to its present proportions, and that on the site of the western part a church was constructed more suitable for parochial purposes; having slenderer piers, a narrower nave, and larger aisles. The Galilee of Durham and St. Joseph's Chapel at Glastonbury are fine instances of additions (if indeed the latter be an addition and not an earlier building) at the west end of a large church. At Oppenheim, in Germany, is a western chapel still more nearly approaching (as regards its relative size) to the example before us. And at Angers, in France, is a large and fine church, having at its west end another almost equally large, which however does not accurately range with it. They are connected by some Romanesque work now in ruins. The length of this church or chapel at Sherborne, to judge from that of the wall ranging with the north aisle, was about 92 ft., and consisted of six bays.

The whole internal length of the church, from the western wall to the door of the Lady Chapel, is 200 ft., of which the nave is 86 ft. 8 in., and the choir and tower together 88 ft. The width of the nave and aisles is 60 ft. 10 in. The measurement of the transepts, from north to south, is about 95 ft. The height of the

tower above the ground is about 100 ft. It is not a perfect square: its width at the top being from north to south 32 ft. 3 in., from east to west 29 ft. 4 in. The height of the vaulting to the choir is about 54 ft. 8 in.



Arcade in Tower.

The effect of the interior is extremely fine, owing to its roof of fan vaulting, which covers the whole length from east to west in a line broken only by the western Norman tower arch. The choir aisles and the north transept have also a fan vault, and the nave aisles a roof approaching to it. The south transept has a wooden roof of considerable richness.

In adverting to these vaults, I may perhaps be allowed to repeat what I have said on former occasions upon the construction of vaults in general. In cellular vaulting, if two equal semicircular vaults, with springs of equal height, cut each other at right angles, the diagonal arch which marks * their intersection will be the half of an ellipse, in a vertical plane inclined to the walls of the building in an angle of 45°, and having its axis major, which will be horizontal, to its axis minor, which will be vertical,

* It is essential to the beauty of a roof that the diagonals should have no double curvature, nor lie in a plane inclined to the horizon, but be portions of true upright arches.

in the ratio of $\sqrt{2}$: 1. If any other ellipse is used for this diagonal arch, or one whose plane inclines to that of the side walls in any other angle than that of 45°, either the transverse arch, or that of the cellular vault, or both, must be elliptical instead of semicircular; that is, if the springs are of the same height, and the ridges horizontal. This will be the case when the vaulting cells are narrower than the main vault. If the transverse arch is a circle, the plane of the diagonal ellipse will be inclined to the walls at an angle greater than 45°, and the arch of the cell will be half an ellipse whose axis major is vertical, or whose curvature increases to the vertex. If the cells have a semicircular arch, the transverse arch will be half an ellipse, the axis minor of which is vertical, or the curvature least, at and near the vertex. This, if I remember, is the case at Laach Abbey in Germany; also in the crypts at Gloucester. And if the ridge of the vault is not taken exactly at the highest part of the circle, but at a distance from it, so as to form a pointed arched vault, the ridge of both the main and cellular vaults being kept horizontal and at right angles to each other, the rule is not altered; but if the plane of the ellipse, of which a part forms the diagonal arch, be inclined in any other angle than that of 45° to the walls, the transverse arch, or that of the cellular vault, or both, must consist of elliptical instead of circular segments; and suppose this to be the narrowest of the two, the ellipse will have its axis major vertical, and the curvature will increase towards the vertex of the arch, whose form will not be so graceful as one in which the curvature diminishes in ascending. The exigences therefore of unequal vaults, though they may have given rise to pointed arches, still demanded many more modifications of line and surface. The simple introduction of a pointed arch would not of itself have solved the difficulty. Either elliptical, transverse, or cellular arches, or inclination of the ridges, or elevation of the springs, or some variation of surface, must have been necessary. In some Early English works, I think the elliptical form of the cellular arch is very apparent, and not graceful.

Now this may account for a variety which occurs in Decorated or Early Perpendicular work; what is called the Welsh vaulting; where the cellular vault branches from the

principal one at a lower point than the vertex of the latter, thus leaving a portion of the barrel roof unbroken. By this means diagonal arches, or rather portions of them, which shall satisfy the conditions of both the form and inclination of the ellipse belonging to arches of circular lines, will be obtained, and the cellular arch, though smaller than the transverse, will be equally made up of pure circular arcs. We have this kind of vaulting in the nave of Winchester Cathedral, and of Tewkesbury Church; in each of which none of the numerous ribs and bosses which cover a comparatively simple surface will be found to be without meaning.

But a still further advance may be made. Let a point be taken in the ridge of the cellular vault, and joined with its spring by a portion of an arch; and the point in the ridge of the main vault, directly over that of its junction with the cell, (that is, lying in the same vertical plane,) be joined in the same way by an arch to its spring, and cut away the angle of the original roof between the two, so as to form an inclined ridge between the vertex of the principal vault and the point taken in the ridge of the cellular one, and an oblique face of roof, between the main and the cellular vaults. This forms a beautiful vault, which occurs (not to name other instances) in the transepts of Tewkesbury Church, in Gloucestershire; and you will observe, it may be constructed to satisfy the following conditions:—

That the ridge of the principal or longitudinal vault shall be perfectly horizontal.

That the transverse arches of both the principal and cellular vaults shall consist of simple circular segments.

That all the edges between different surfaces shall lie in vertical planes, forming portions of true arches.

And that all the surfaces shall be developable, a condition favourable, though not essential, to the beauty of the roof, and I should suppose convenient in its construction.

I am not prepared to point out to you any instance in which all these conditions are strictly observed. My object is to show that the architect was enabled to observe them if he liked; and any deviations are not from necessity, but from choice, and the freedom, both in design and execution, that characterizes all mediæval work.

By the introduction of oblique faces the original diagonal arch is cut away, and exists only as an imaginary line. The number of oblique faces may be multiplied, even without the introduction of any other, by taking a number of points both upon the ridge of the cellular vault and of the portion of the arch of the main roof, between its ridge and the departure of the cell.

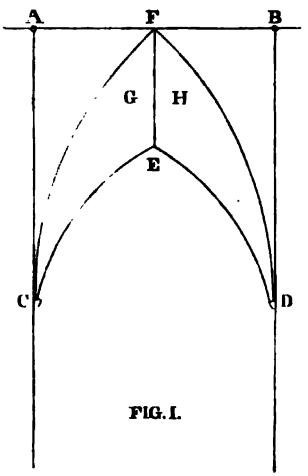


FIG. 1.

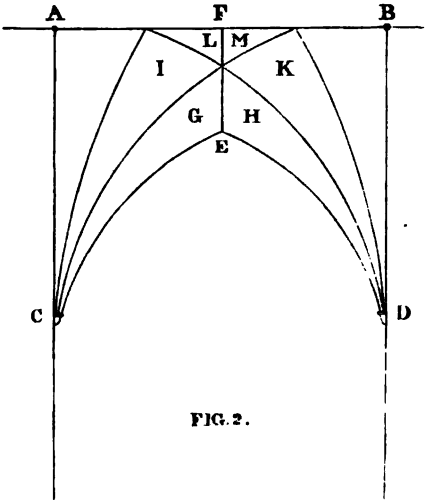


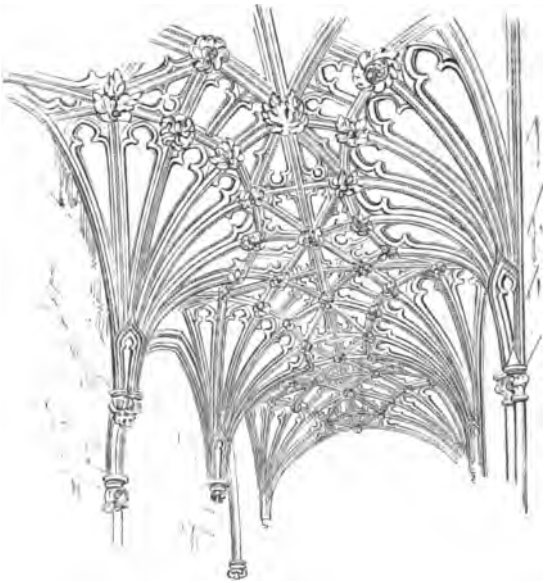
FIG. 2.

1.—A B ridge of main roof.
A C and B D transverse semi-arches.
E a point in the ridge of the cellular vault, lower than F the point corresponding to it in the main ridge.
G and H oblique surfaces of the vault.

2.—G, H, I, K, oblique surfaces, I and G being different from each other; also H and K.
L and M intermediate connecting surfaces, not belonging either to the main vault, or to the oblique vaulting surfaces, but connecting the two.

But this plan must leave a large portion of the main vault unbroken. If we wish to vary this by an oblique face, we must introduce another description of surfaces, which shall neither correspond with the principal or cellular vaults, nor with the oblique vaulting surface, but connect the latter with each other and with the former. I shall not attempt to enter into an investigation of their various forms or inclinations, but merely observe that they will mostly be found to be flatter, or less inclined to the horizon, than the surfaces of the original simple vault which they replace.

Though the oblique surface was probably first introduced for the purpose of connecting the ridges of two vaults unequal in height and span, the beauty of the effect thus obtained led to its use where this inequality did not exist; and it may, perhaps, be found to have facilitated the combination of vaults of different span but equal height, without the abandonment of circular lines in the arch.



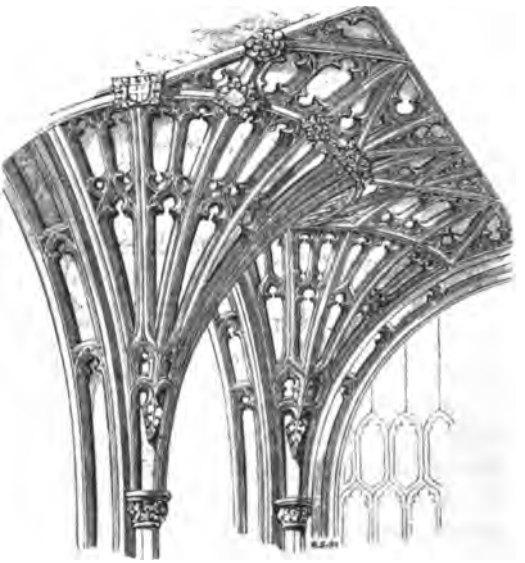
The roof of the nave aisles has two oblique faces between the surfaces of the principal and cellular vaults; but the intermediate faces, as we may call them, the arrangement of which admits of great variety, are so disposed as to take off from it the appearance of fan vaulting; though in mechanical construction the roof comes as near to it as in the choir aisles, where it is most evident. In short, when once we obtain the three descriptions of surface, the main and cellular surface, the oblique vaulting surface, and the intermediate connecting surface, we arrive by easy transitions to the purest fan vaulting, where a perfectly flat ceiling appears to be supported by a series of supports, equal in size, touching each other at the top, so as to leave flat quadrilateral spaces, circular in all their horizontal sections and forming two half arches, diverging from each other, in every vertical section through the spring.

Since I have considered the subject of vaulting in the point of view in which I have endeavoured to place it before you, I have been less inclined than formerly to prefer to the English system, complicated as it may appear at first sight, the simpler continental system, where the plain cross

vault usually prevails, rarely varied except by the sexpartite and the forms of assidal vaulting.

I trust I shall be excused this long digression on a subject which I am not competent to treat with that precision which it deserves; but the Perpendicular, and other excellent work with which our present place of meeting abounds,* affords an opportunity of studying many varieties of roofing, and of considering the principles of construction.

In fan vaulting, as in all other, there must be a transverse arch and a cellular arch. But where the fans do not meet each other at the main ridge of the building, the former is often much flattened. This is the case with the choir at Sherborne. The spring of the vault is placed very high, corresponding nearly with that of the clerestory windows, which gives the interior a character of great loftiness, though the actual height of the roof, as compared with the whole width including the aisles, is rather less than usual. The transverse arch is therefore extremely flat, and as far as I could judge from a careful examination of the exterior, under the leads, has no point whatever at the vertex, but is continuous and almost without curvature. I fancied the curvature to be the greatest at a short distance from the spring, but had no means of ascertaining accurately. The design of this roof, though extremely beautiful, is too bold for safety, and some parts are consequently in a very precarious condition. But the boldness of the architect did not stop at the mere construction of the roof; for he actually cut away the eastern Norman arch of the tower, the only



* Oxford.

arch of masonry that I could discover being one even flatter than the choir roof itself. The voussoirs of this arch may be seen in the hollow of the fan just above the spring, but I could not see them above the vertex of the roof; indeed an opening into the tower is pierced which almost touches it, so that the keystone must lie within the thickness of the vault itself. This wall of the tower has been apparently rebuilt, as it does not exhibit the arcade, and is of rougher masonry than the others, but how it is supported is a mystery: it must be more by cohesion of materials than by construction. The composition of the choir is extremely fine. The clerestory is large and lofty; the windows having six lights and a transom, arranged in three orders, and having a peculiar straight-sided arch in its tracery, which is common in Somersetshire. The east window has nine lights. Externally, are pinnacles, bold flying buttresses, and a panelled straight parapet. The aisle also has fine pinnacles, and a rich parapet. Internally, the piers are of good projection, the vaulting shafts rising from the ground. The arches are of great width, and their imposts have capitals. Their archivolts, as well as the piers themselves, have panelling. I think Norman pier arches would not have been so wide, and consequently that the present Perpendicular piers are not casings of old Norman ones, but original ones designed under Abbot Bradford, immediately after the fire. The nave is inferior as a composition, having polygonal piers, panelled, and without capitals. The vaulting shaft rests on a string above the pier arches. The two westernmost pier arches are narrower than the others, so as to leave within the church an abutment to the range; but all the clerestory windows are equal and regular, and consequently the westernmost ones do not correspond with the arches below. The nave has no flying buttresses externally. It has a fan roof like the choir, but not so flat, having in fact a decided point at the ridge. It is on a safer principle of construction; and though it has not the same external support as the other, appears to be in better condition. The bays are narrower, and the central ridge raised considerably above the level of the point of the clerestory. The windows have five lights, the great west window nine, and the aisle windows three. The south transept front window has eight; the aisle windows of the choir, which

are segmental, have four lights. There is not a single Tudor-arched door or window in the church, nor an embattled parapet, nor a diagonal buttress. The present gables are all of a low pitch, though the marks of higher ones are indicated on the tower.

It is remarkable that the abbey seal represents a church with two towers. Though it cannot be considered as giving a very exact view of the church at any particular period, yet it is not likely that so remarkable a characteristic should have been given without some cause. It is probable that the abbey church, either in the Saxon or Norman period, had, besides its central tower, a western one, as Winborn Minster in the same county has now, though of a later date, and as many foreign Romanesque churches have in that style.

The abbey buildings are worth examination. I have annexed a rough plan of them, as far as I could make it

Gurgoyle in Abbey Buildings.

From Abbey Buildings.

out, to the plan of the church; for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Staples, the gentleman who overlooks the restorations. The latter may therefore be considered correct: the former, though not equally so, will give a fair idea of the position and arrangement, as far as they can be ascertained from their existing remains. I am also enabled to show some specimens of detail.

At no great distance from the church is St. John's Hospital, founded, according to a tablet preserved in the hall, on the 10th day of January, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry VI., 1448, by Robert Nevil, Bishop of Sarum, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. It seems to have undergone little if any alteration from the time of its erection, and is valuable as a dated specimen, and an admirable model for an establishment of the kind. It consists of a building divided in its height by a floor, the lower part containing a hall of sufficient size, to which is attached a chapel. The upper story contains the rooms of the women. In the principal apartment is a fine triptych, probably of the date of the building: it represents several of our Saviour's miracles. The colours are clear and rich, and the gilt nimbus is introduced. The chapel has a fine western arch, over which is a small bell-turret. The south window has some good painted glass. The offices are ranged at a right angle from the main building. Many of the windows are of a single pointed light, without foliation, but under a square head. The details are simple, but of good character; and the general appearance of the building is venerable and picturesque.

East of the church, in the street, is a small hexagonal conduit, of late Perpendicular character: it has a good groined ceiling.

The church we have just considered is instructive, as showing how the old Norman design has given a tone and character not obliterated by successive alterations. The architects of the fabric, however they may have deviated from the plan or style, never seem to have lost the spirit of their predecessors. Compare the choirs of Sherborne and Romsey, and you will find more similarity of effect than discrepancy in detail and arrangement: one will hardly fail to remind you of the other. The low massive tower, of which the base is actually Norman, is throughout of Norman character and proportion. The nave has I think been shortened; but the choir and transepts are probably not very different in length from the original. The similarity to Romsey in the aisle running round the choir has already been noticed. The nave piers look like Norman ones crusted over with Perpendicular work, and some antiquaries have been led to suspect that this is actually the case. On examining the masonry, however, I can hardly

find sufficient grounds for asserting it to be so. Still we find Perpendicular panelling let into one of the Norman tower piers. But in going through this church, whatever be the surface that meets the eye, we cannot help thinking of a Norman composition.

We are also led to consider the question, Whether, and to what extent, the Perpendicular of that date shows the characteristics of a declining style? If it falls off in some points, it may possibly advance in others. The panelling of the piers, both in the nave and choir, is a superfluous ornament, and had better have been dispensed with; in the latter, however, it is hardly sufficient to break the effect of the prominent vertical lines. The arrangement above the pier arch is simple and grand. It is a large and fine window, of which the principal lights are divided by transoms into three stages, the lower one being left blank, and answering to the triforium of earlier buildings. The minute subdivisions of tracery in the heads of the windows have not the same grandeur as the bolder treatment exhibited in the nave and aisles of Winchester Cathedral, but the latter would not perhaps have harmonized so well with the fan vaulting above.

This vaulting is, I think, an advance upon the earlier styles, in consequence of the height at which it allows the spring to be placed, and the flatness which the transverse arch admits of without any unpleasing effect. I have before observed that the apparent height of a building depends more upon the height of the springs than of the crown of a vault, and the present building illustrates the truth of the position. We cannot but admire the boldness of the architect who planned a lofty fan vaulting, extending from east to west, unbroken by the supports of the central tower, though whether the successful removal of one of them be a proof of skill rather than of good fortune I am not prepared to say; nor can I regret that he, or his successor, did not venture to remove the other. The vaulting of the nave, which is later than the choir, is equally good in effect, and of better construction, more compact in itself, and resting more vertically on the walls, which bear it without the aid of flying buttresses. The upper part of the central tower combines strength and lightness. It rests upon a deep splay, which projects sufficiently to receive buttresses, both near the angles and in the middle; these

preserve the air of massiveness, which is increased by the wide external splays of the belfry windows, the mullions and tracery being on a level with the inner face of the wall. The horizontal parapet and very small pinnacles would be ill exchanged for any other finish, which I hope will not be attempted in the course of restoration. The clerestory of the nave is not so good as that of the choir, and its external mouldings show a tendency to debasement. Nor is a five-light window, having two orders of principal mullions, ever so good a composition, whatever may be the style, as one of four, six, eight, or nine lights. This appears more strongly from the new stone with which the nave windows have been restored, giving an apparent heaviness to the larger mullions, which the colour of the old dark stone tended to relieve. The interior of the nave is cleaned, and the colour of the stone being good the effect is much improved.

I sincerely wish the present restoration of this fine church may be so carried on as to preserve its genuine character. Any attempt at a restoration of earlier features now obliterated would be injudicious; the value of early specimens in most cases consists rather in their genuineness than in their actual beauty. They were a record of old times, times of great interest to the architectural student; which conjectural restorations are not. In old works, we recognise the efforts of a healthy and vigorous infancy, often rude or defective, but each showing an advance to maturity. In modern imitations, we recognise nothing but a feeble attempt at bad mannerism. Let us study the perfections of every style, and if we imitate at all, aim at those of the most perfect; but let us be content to leave our Norman remains as we find them, or if it be necessary to rebuild, let us use the very stones themselves, where it is possible, and where it is not, let us copy them as faithfully as we can. Let us take them with all the additions and incumbrances which mediæval architects have heaped upon them, for these are so many historical records. The old porch of Sherborne, Norman below and Perpendicular above, was far more valuable, and to the eye of the artist perhaps more beautiful, than a restoration of the same porch, Normanised to the very point of the gable, according to the fancy or the researches of the best modern architects.

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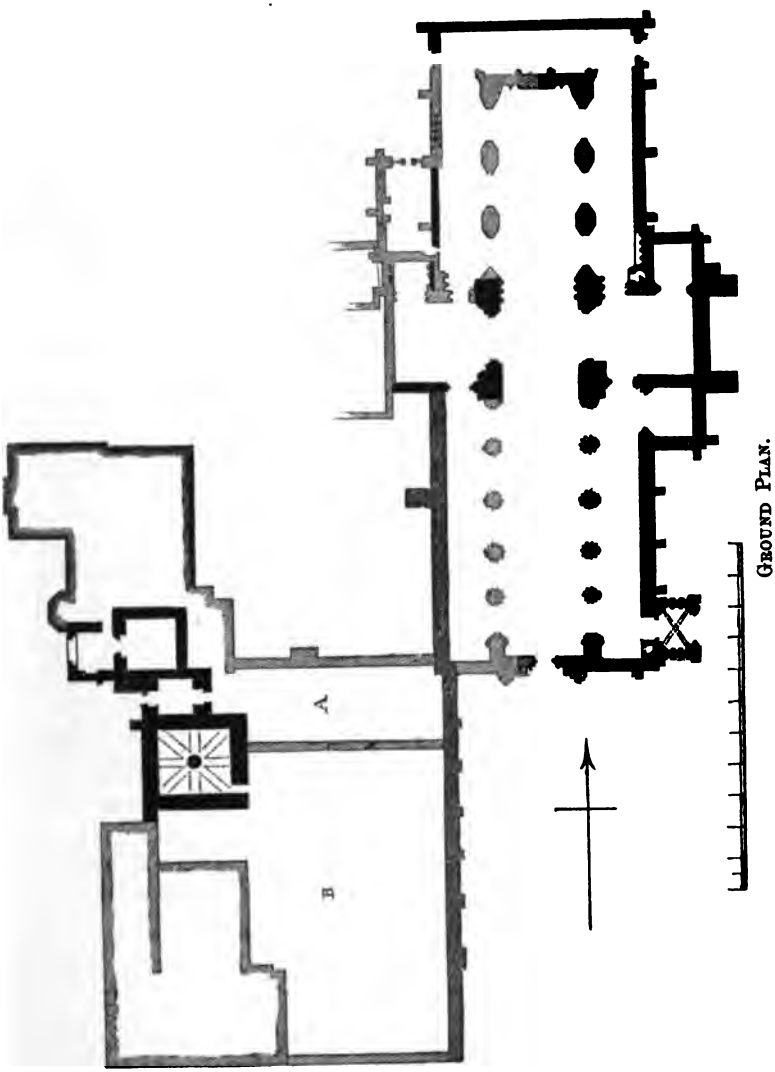
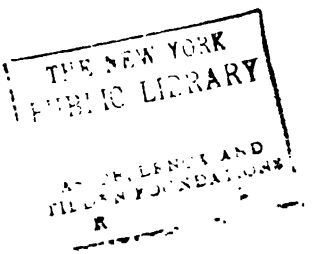


GROUND PLAN.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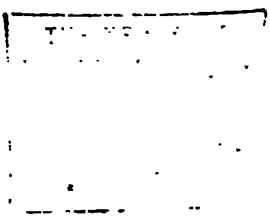
CLERESTORY WINDOW AND ROOF OF SOUTH AISLE OF CHOIR FROM TOWER, LOOKING EAST.



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PART OF DOMESTIC BUILDING, LOOKING SOUTH.

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CRYPT IN DOMESTIC BUILDING.

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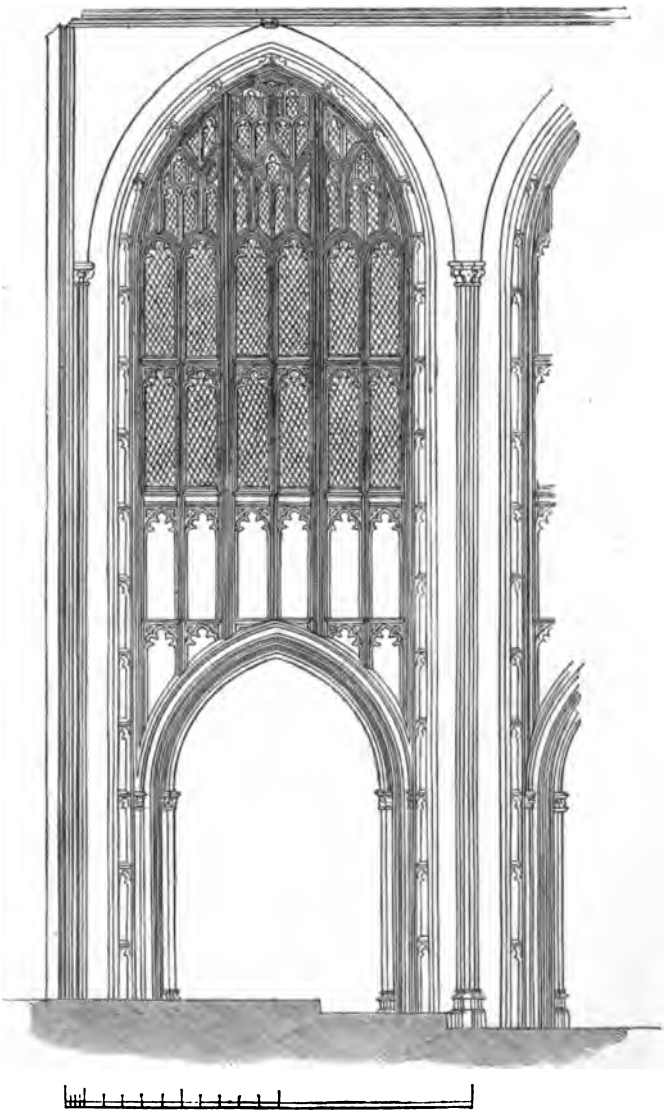
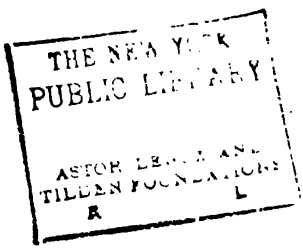


Bay of Choir.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GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH WEST.

SHERBORNE, DORSETSHIRE.

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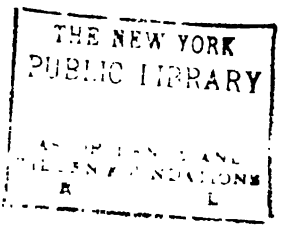
GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH.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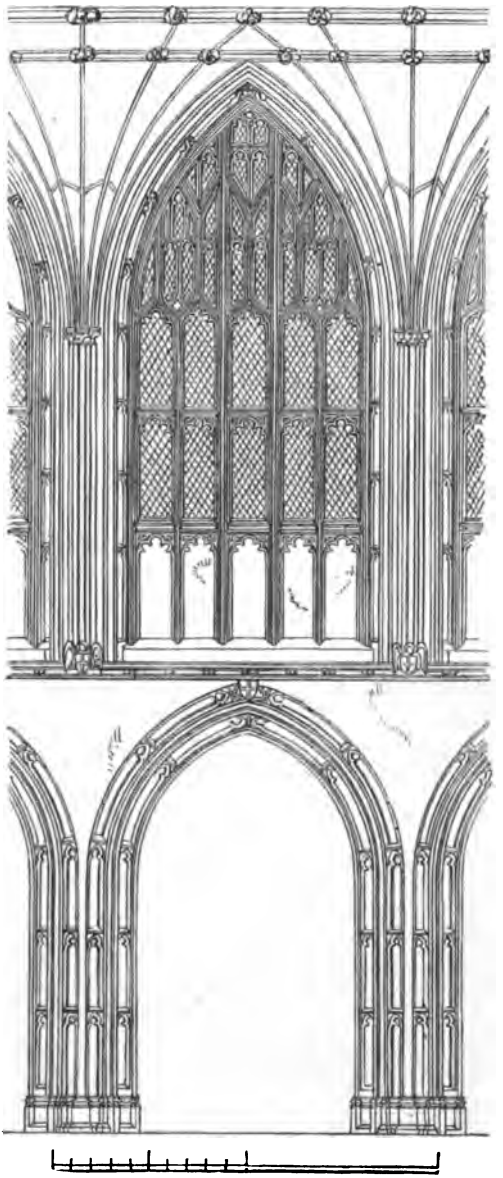
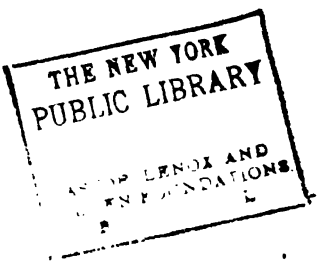


BAY OF NAVE.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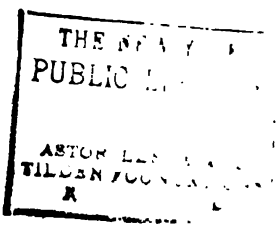
CONDUIT, EAST END OF THE CHURCH.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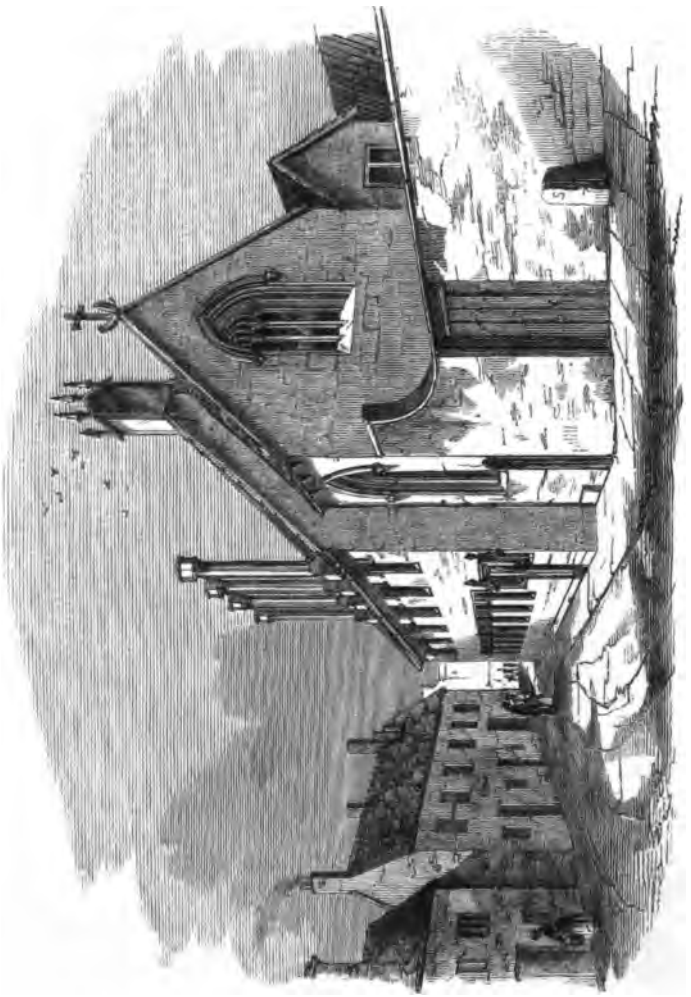
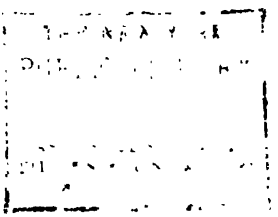
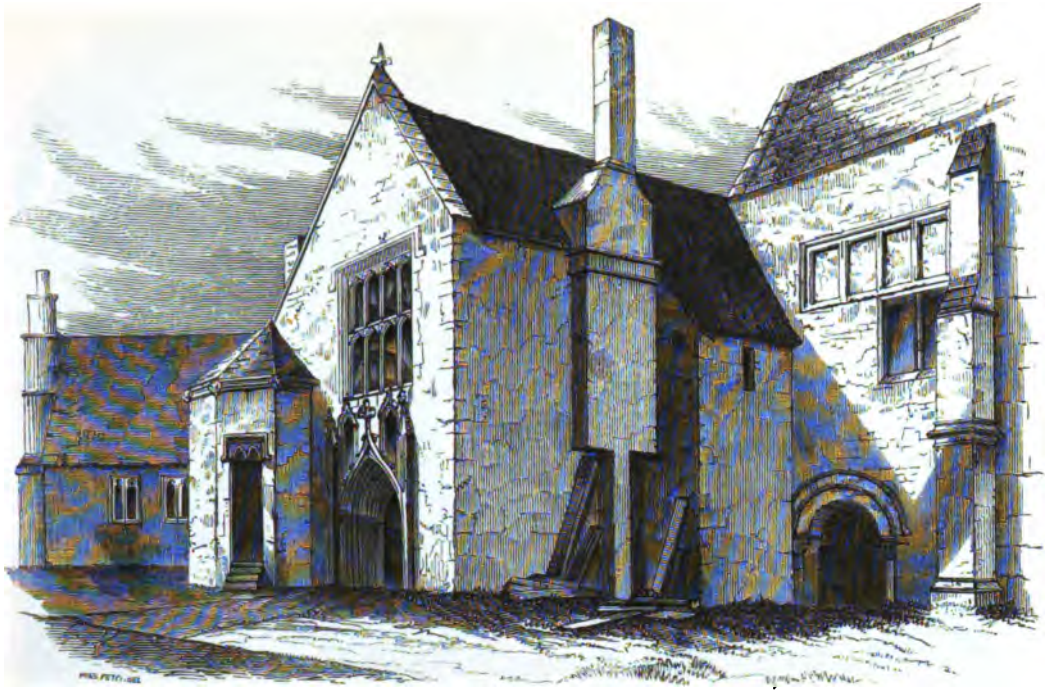


St. John's Hospital.





PART OF DOMESTIC BUILDINGS.

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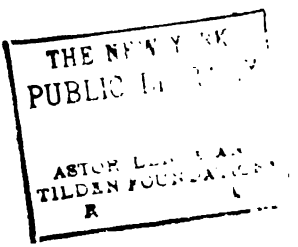
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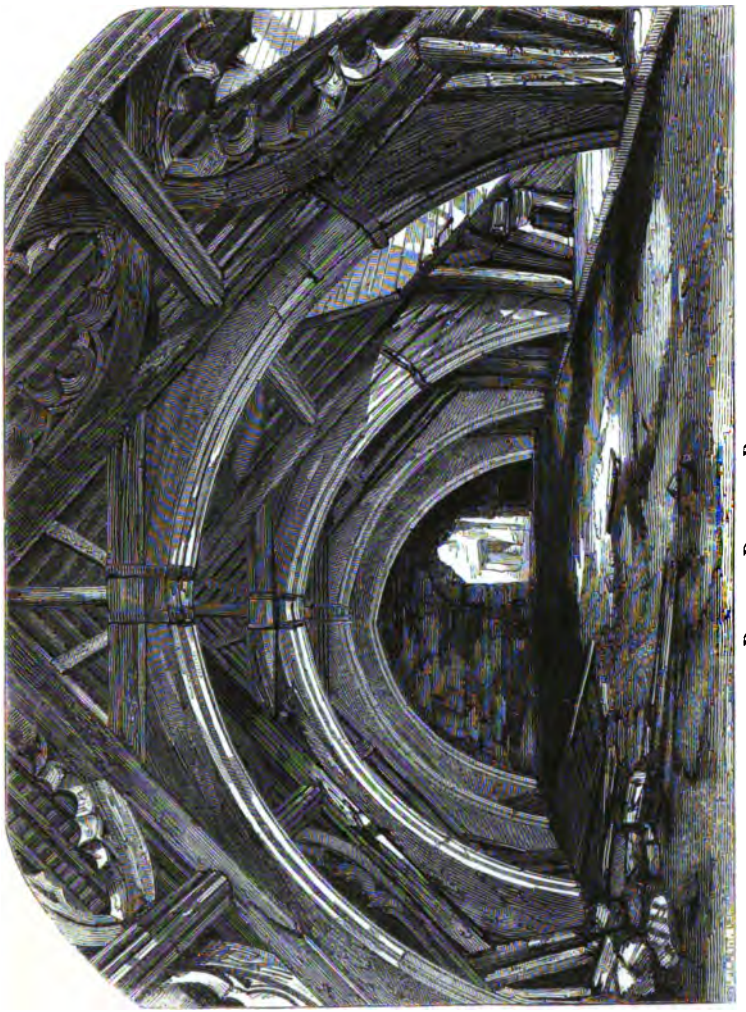

Roof of Domestic Building.

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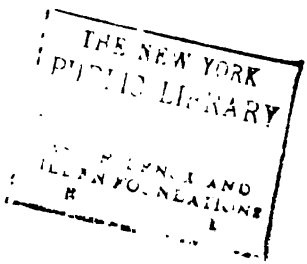
VIEW FROM SOUTH TRANSEPT LOOKING INTO NAVE.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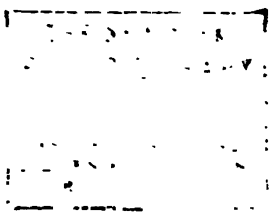
DOORWAY TO DOMESTIC BUILDING.



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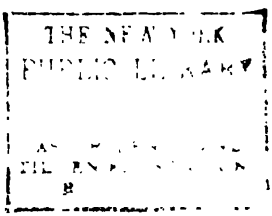
CHAPEL: NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR.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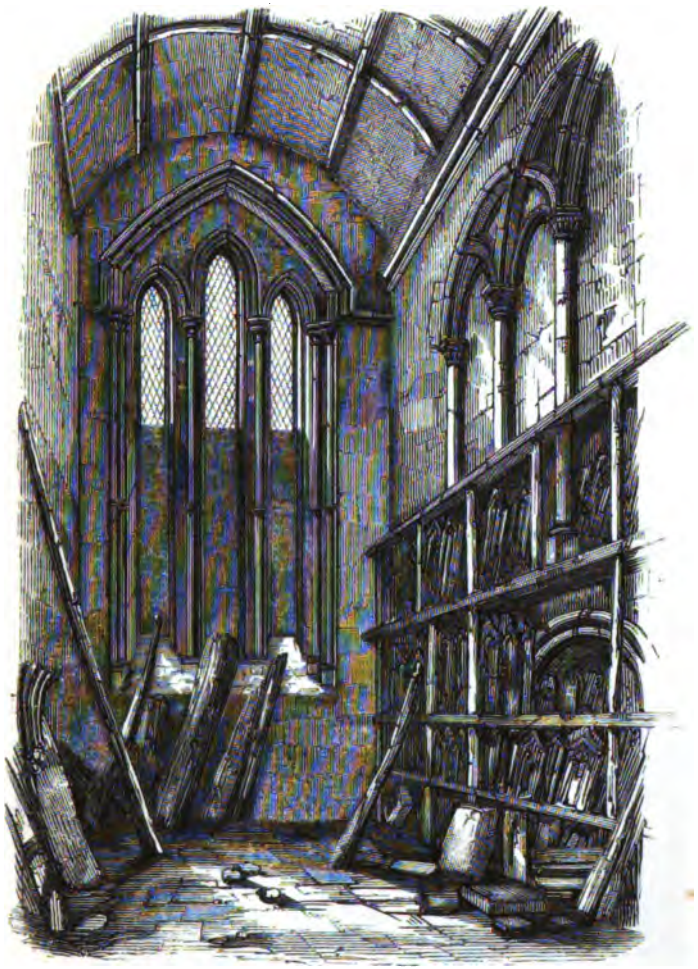

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CHAPEL: NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR.

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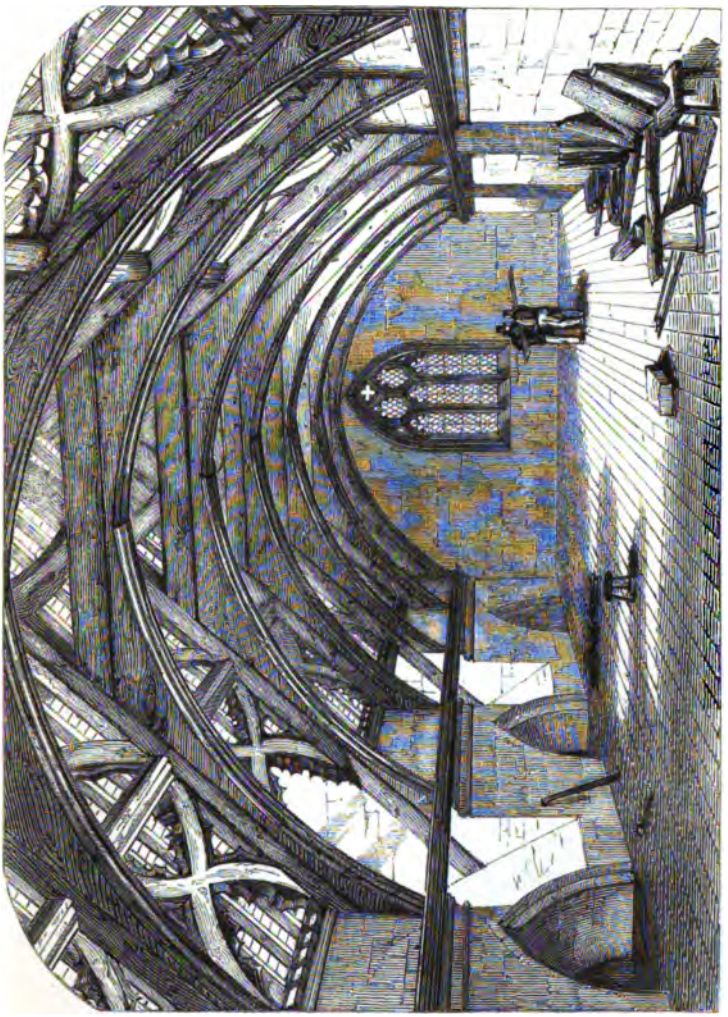

ROOF OF HALL IN DOMESTIC BUILDING.

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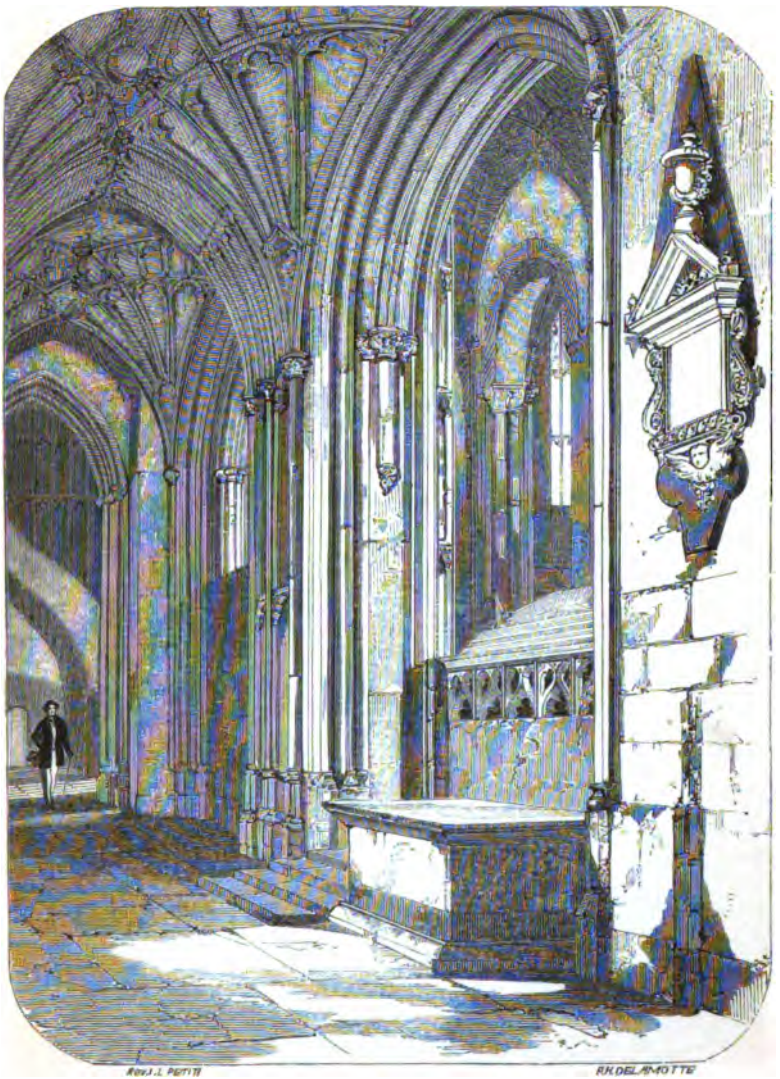

SOUTH AISLE OF CHOIR.

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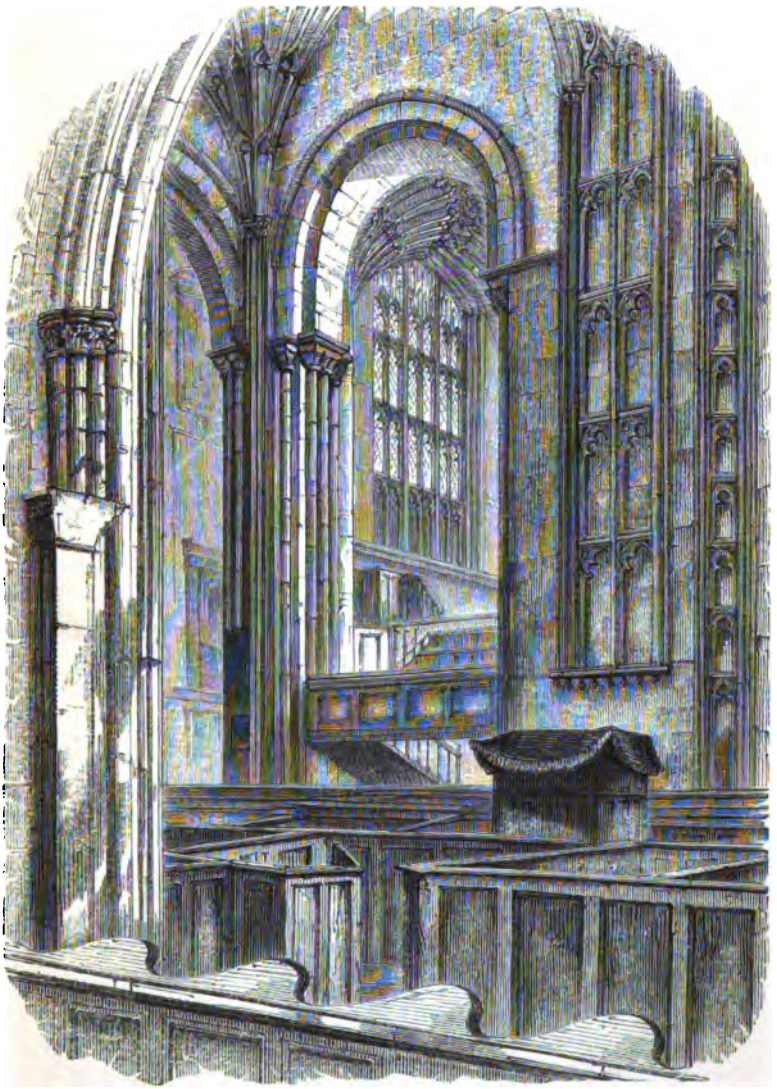
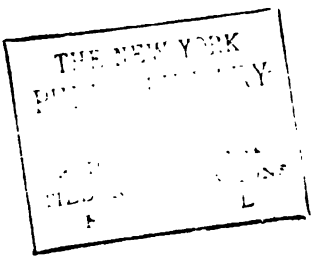


VIEW FROM SOUTH SIDE OF CHOIR,
LOOKING INTO NORTH TRANSEPT.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SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS IN BRISTOL AND WELLS CATHEDRALS, THE CHURCHES OF YATTON AND BITTON;

WITH NOTICES OF THE TOMB OF JUDGE CRADOCK, THE FAMILIES OF NEWTON AND DE BITTON.

In a chapel at the end of the south aisle of Bristol Cathedral are several monuments of the family of Cradock, or Newton, of Barre's Court, in the parish of Bitton, about three miles from Bristol. One of these is without the original inscription, but once showed the matrices of two brass effigies, kneeling, with labels and arms. Barrett, in his History of Bristol (p. 305), says that the spaces occupied by the brasses were filled up and made smooth when the monument was repaired, on which is now seen the following inscription:—"In memory of Sir Richard Newton Cradock, of Barrs Court, in the county of Gloucester, one of his Majesties Justices of the Common Pleas, who died December the 13th, 1444, and with his Lady lies interr'd beneath this monument, which was defaced by the Civil Wars, and repaired by Mrs. Archer, sister to the late Sir Michael Newton, of Barrs Court, 1748."

The design of this monument is certainly much later than 1444 (see cut, next page). It shows the same taste as that which designed Chaucer's monument, set up, I believe, in 1555; a tomb in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and one at Ringwood, figured in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxxvii. pt. 2, p. 1001. It may have been to the memory of a Cradock, but the notion that the Judge was buried there must have arisen from some misapprehension, and it is not true that he died in 1444; I am informed by Mr. Edward Foss, that the *last* fine levied *before* him was "in Octab. Mart. 27 Hen. VI.," or November, 1448.

I will presently endeavour to prove, beyond a doubt, that Judge Cradock and his lady rest in Yatton Church, Somerset,

but I would first wish to notice another error about a Newton Tomb in St. Peter's Church, Bristol, where there is a magnificent specimen of the monumental art of the 16th century, raised to the memory of some widow lady, but without any inscription. A modern tablet ascribes it to a *maiden* lady of the family of Newton, of Barre's Court, and states that this also was repaired by Mrs. Archer. On one of the shields on this tomb are sixteen quarterings as assigned to *Cradock Newton*, and on another shield are quartered the arms of Clarke, of Somerset; viz. 1 and 4, two bars with three escallops in chief; 2 and 3, 3 arrows

Tomb, attributed to Judge Cradock, Bristol Cathedral.

in pale. The same arms may be seen in Wookey Church, near Wells, on an altar tomb of "Thomas Clarke and Anthony his wyfe," who died *circa* 1555. In a Newton pedigree in the Visitation of 1623 it is laid down that John Newton of Harptree (a younger brother of Sir Henry Newton, who died 1599, and whose monument is in Bristol Cathedral) married *Antholin*, daughter and heir of Henry Clarke, of Wells. The probability, therefore, is that

this monument in St. Peter's Church is to the memory of the said *Antholin* Clarke, *widow*, some time wife of the said John Newton, brother to Sir Henry Newton, who died 1599.

One of the monuments in the Newton Chapel in the Cathedral is to the memory of this Sir Henry, which I would here introduce for the purpose of putting on record the various quarterings which adorn his tomb; this, as I believe, has never yet been done. On the Newton coat are the arms granted to Sir Henry's father—Sir John Newton, of Richmond Castle, in East Harptree, county Somerset, in 1567. The grant is in the Ashmolean MS. DCCCXXXIV. f. 34, and runs thus:—

"To all and singular as well nobles and gentills as others to whom these presents shall come, we, Sir Gilbert Dethicke, knight, alias Garter, principall kinge of armes for the Order of the Garter, Rob'te Cooke, alias Clarenciault kinge of armes of the south, William Flower, alias Norroy kinge of armes of the northe, and all others the hereauldes of armes send humble commendacion and gretinge: that whereas we being required by Sir John Newton, of Richmond Castill, in the countie of Somersett, knyght, to make serche for the antient armes descendinge to him from his ancetors [*sic*], at whose requeste we, the said kinges and hereauldes of armes, have not only made diligent serche in our regestyrs, but also therewithall perused diverse of his ancient evidence and other monumentes, whereuppon we doe fynd that the said Sir John Newton, knyght, maye beare twelve severall cotes, that is to say, the armes of Rob'te Cradocke, alias Newton, the armes of Rob'te Sherborne, the armes of Steven Angle, the armes of Steven Pirot, the armes of John Harvie, the armes of Sir John Sheder, knight, the armes of Richard Hampton, the armes of Sir John Bitton, knyght, the armes of Sir Matthewe Furneaulx, knyght, the armes of Walter Cawdecot, the armes of Sir Annsell Corney, knyght, and the armes of Sir Henry Harterie, knyght. All which armes doth plainlie appere depicted in the Margent; and for that the said Sir John Newton is uncertaine of any creaste wich he ought to beare by his owne proper name, he therefore hath also required vs, the said kings and hereauldes of armes, to assigne and confirme vnto him and his posteritie for ever,

the creaste of Sir Anncell Corney, knyght, which Sir Anncell Corney, as it doth appere by divers ancient evidence and other monuments of the said Sir John Newton, was at the winnynge of Acom with Kinge Richard the First, where he toke prisoner a kinge of the Mores: and further, the said Sir John Newton, knyght, hath made goode proofe for the bearinge of the same creaste, that the heires male of the said Sir Anncell Corney is extingueshed, and the heires generall do only remaine in him. In consideracion whereof wee, the said kinges and herehauldes of armes, do give, confirme, and grant vnto the said Sir John Newton and his posteritie for ever, the said creaste of Sir Anncell Corney, knyght, that is to say, vppon his helme on a torce silver and asure, a kinge of the Mores armed in male, crowned gold, knelinge vpon his lefte knee rendering vppe his sworde, as more plainly aperith depicted in this Margent, to have and to howld the said creast to him and his posteretie, with there due difference to vse, beare, and show in shelde, cote armour, or otherwise, for ever, at his or their libertie and pleasure, without impediment, let, or interruption of any parson or parsons. In witnesse whereof we, the said kinges and hereaulde of armes, have caused these letters to be made patentes, and set herevnto our comon seale of corporation: given at the office of armes in London, the twelvethe of December, and in the tenthe yeare of the reigne of our sovereigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faithe," &c.

1. Cradock or Newton.
2. Sherborne.
3. Angle.
4. Pirot.
5. Harvie.
6. Sheder et Shedder.
7. Hampton.
8. Bitton.
9. Furneaulx.
10. Caudecot.
11. Corney ali. Gurney.
12. Harterie ali. Harpetre.

These are impaled with the arms of his wife, Catherine,

daughter of Sir Thomas Paston, of Norfolk.—In the Visitation of that County in 1563, Harl. MS., 1552, fol. 178 b., they are assigned thus:—

1. Paston.
2. Peeche.
3. Leeche.
4. Comerton.
5. Walcote.
6. Berry.
7. Heingrave.
8. Watsam.
9. Hetherset.
10. Gerbridg.
11. Peeber.
12. Maultbey.

The whole surmounted by a crest, the curious history of which is recorded in the above Grant of Arms to Newton: a Moorish king, kneeling, and rendering up his sword.

But to return to Judge Cradock:—

In the Wyke Aisle, Yatton, is a very handsome alabaster altar tomb, on the sides of which there are figures of angels holding shields of arms, mutilated, which Collinson, in his History of Somerset, vol. iii. p. 619, says, bore arms of Newton and Shirburn, impaled with Perrott. On the top of the tomb are the effigies of an aged judge and his lady. This tomb is by tradition ascribed to Judge Cradock; the female figure is supposed to represent Emma de Wyke; the inscription is gone. There can be no doubt, from the costume, that the male effigy is that of a judge (a collar of Esses may be seen under his robes). That it is a Cradock, is confirmed by the *garb* or wheat sheaf, on which his head is laid. (The arms of Cradock are Arg. on a Chevron Az. 3 Garbs Or.) Besides, in the interesting accounts of the Churchwardens of Yatton, Anno 1450-1, among the receipts there is this entry:—"It: recipimus de D'no de Wyke per manu' J. Newton filii sui de legato Dn'i Rici. Newton, ad —— p' Campana xxs."

That this date is nearer the time of his death than 1444, as stated on the monument in the Cathedral, is confirmed

by the fact of the fine levied in 1448. In the best authenticated pedigrees of the family, it is laid down, that Richard Cradock married Emma, daughter of John Harvy, of London, whose arms, billety, a lion rampant, form one of the quarterings on the Newton coat. But Emma Harvy is not Emma de Wyke, still she might also have been his wife. There is no inquisition on the death of the Judge, but there is on the death of *Emmota Newton*, widow, 16 Edw. IV. She died 1475, holding manors in and about *Yatton*. I conclude, therefore, that Judge Cradock's tomb is in Yatton Church, and that the tomb in Bristol Cathedral is not his. I have not been able to assign that tomb to any other of the family, unless it be to *Richard* Newton, a grandson of the Judge; the time of whose death, 1500, would accord well with the design of the monument; and it is not known where he was buried. If my view be correct, the circumstance of his being called *Richard*, after his grandfather, might have led to the mistake.

The mention of Barre's Court, in this paper, seems to open an opportunity for giving a correct account of the manner in which the Newtons became possessed of that extensive property. One historian, copying from another, without reference to other authorities, often perpetuates error upon error. Such is particularly the case with this family, all originating with Atkyns in his Gloucestershire.

It has been laid down, without any proof, that Margaret, a daughter of *Blount*, who was lord of the manor of Bitton, married Sir John Barre, who left a daughter *Joan*, who married a Newton. Even Sir Alexander Croke, in his Genealogy, p. 343, has depended upon Atkyns' statement. All this may now be corrected, by reference to records which have probably been discovered since Atkyns' time.

It can be shown, that no such marriage ever took place —that Sir John Barre left no daughter by his wife, through whom he acquired that property. Upon the death of Lady Barre, without issue, in 1485, it was found by the inquest at her death, that her next heirs were Bassett, Hampton, and Strode, descendants of the co-heiresses of Sir John de Bitton by Harriet Furneaux. It was so far true that Newton (Sir Thomas) married an *heir* of Lady Barre, but not a daughter, viz. Lucy Hampton,—and in that way

Cradock or Newton of Richmond acquired Barre's Court Estates.

Sir Thomas Newton, the second son of Sir John, the son of the Judge, or to quote the words of Leland (vol. vii. f. 68 b.), a younger brother of Newton, inhabiting at Wyke, "maryed one of the dowghtars and heyres of Hampton, and wyfe afore to one of the Chokks, that dyed without ysswe by hym. This was the yonggest dowghtar of the three, that Hampton lefte, and yet she being maried onto Newton, fathar to Ser John Newton (Leland's host at Barre's Court, from whom he learned all this), fortunyd to have all the thre partes."

In the inquisition on the death of Lady Barre, 1485, her heirs were found to be,—

Robert Bassett, aged 50.
William Strode, aged 40.
Lucy Chokke, aged 15 and more.
Johanna Chokke, aged 14 and more.
Elizabeth Chokke, aged 16 and more.

Lucy was the wife of Thomas Chokke, jun.; Johanna, of Thomas Chokke, sen.; Elizabeth, of John Chokke, jun.

Aske, in Coll. Top. vol. i. p. 243, mentions Lucy, Jane, and Elizabeth, daughters of John Hampton, as "heyres to my Lady Barre," calling them by their maiden name.

It may be as well to state here, that in the inquisition on the death of Sir John Barre, taken 22 Edw. IV., his daughter, and next heir, is found to be Isabella, Countess of Devon, late wife of Humphry Stafford, Earl of Devon, and Lord of Southwyke, and then the wife of Sir Thomas Bourgcheir, knight, son of Henry, Earl of Essex.

It is therefore quite clear that Newton's wife was not a daughter, as it has been erroneously stated, either of Sir John Barre or Lady Barre, though it is correct she was *an heir* of Lady Barre; and in that way, on the partition of her estates, he acquired Barre's Court, and all its demesnes. One of the other heirs of Barre, viz. *Bassett*, got Highfield and Upton Chaun in Bitton, and resided there till he left it for Claverton, about 1607. Her Dorset and Somerset estates went to Strode.

Of Barre's Court, little now remains but dilapidated

buildings. Even its ancient name of *Hannam* is lost, having given way to that of Oldland, into which, from population, and other circumstances, it has been merged; and also perhaps to avoid confusion with West Hanham or Hanham Abbots which abuts on it.

Hanham and Upton Chaun were both manors held of the lord of the manor of Bitton.

The site of a drawbridge and a moat are visible; and over the door of the present farm-house, the Newton arms beautifully wrought in stone, encircled by an elaborate wreath, though much mutilated, still remain.

In Leland's time (*circa* 1540, Itin. vol. vii. p. 37) it was "a fayre olde mannar place of stone"—"From Biton village 2 miles"—"onto Bristow 3 myles by hilly and stony ground, with feren ovar growne in dyvers places"—"At this Hanham dwellythe one Ser John Newton"—"The forest of Kyngs wodd cummythe just onto Barres courte, Mastar Newton's howse."

Here the Cradock Newtons resided, and were buried in Bristol Cathedral; but when, upon the death of Sir John Newton, Bart., in 1661, the *last* of that branch, the estates passed by will to Sir John Newton of *Lincolnshire* (*Cross Bones* Newtons, quite a distinct family), on whom the baronetcy was entailed, the house soon fell into decay; and about 1770 (?) it was taken down by Sir Michael Newton, then the owner. Since which time the offices have been occupied as a farm-house.

From aged persons living close by, I have gathered the following:—That the house was enclosed by a high wall, and a brick wall (parts of which remain) all round the park. There were niches round the outside of the house, filled with colossal leaden statues. A large and lofty entrance-hall, richly carved and gilt, particularly the fireplace, the shelf of which was supported by two large figures of wood: it was paved with black and white marble squares; there was a music-gallery at the end. There was a chapel, handsomely adorned. The house was square, in the style of Siston Court, with square stone mullioned windows, with Gothic heads and labels. The porter's lodge had a large gateway and a small one, and images about it, and texts of Scripture in panels of stone, one of which I recovered, and set it up in the aisle at Bitton. It runs

thus, and is from an edition of the Bible, 1602:—"Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be prolonged in the land the which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The vane was a figure representing the Newtons' crest, which is still preserved, viz. a king on his knee, &c.

Here it was that the family of De Bitton, or Button (or Bucton, as the double t in old records is written), resided, as two deeds dated from Hanham testify: one, 4 Rich. II., in Lansdown MS. 203, fol. 58, executed by John Button and Joan his wife; another, 23 Edw. III., Harl. MS. 1443, fol. 41, executed by Matthew de Bitton, son and heir of Lord John de Bitton. Both these have seals—Erm. a fesse —in the deed of *t*. Rich. II., it is impaled, but too far defaced to be made out.

There can be no doubt that the place took its comparatively modern name from Sir John Barre of Rotherwas, county of Hereford, who by marriage became its possessor. Perhaps Newton gave it that name when he inherited the property on Lady Barre's death, or when he set up the arms, with all the glory of blazon, which were granted to him in 1567, with which date the description of the house accords. Lady Barre was the relict of Robert Greyndon, or Greydour, Esq., in whose time it was called *Hannam*, as appears by an Extent of the manor made for him in the 10th of Hen. VI.,—a most minute survey of all the lands, names of the tenants, &c. This valuable document, beautifully drawn on a roll 25 feet long, is now deposited in the British Museum, No. 7361 of Additional MSS. It was purchased at Lady Harley's sale in 1850, a descendant of the last Newtons.

Lady Barre was sole daughter and heir of Thomas Rougg, or Rigge, Esq., of Charlcombe, county of Somerset (where she was baptized), by Catharine, the last heiress of that branch of De Bittons. She died in 1485, and was buried with her first husband at Newland, county of Gloucester, in a chantry chapel founded by herself just after his death. This appears by her will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 23rd July, 1485. Among her numerous bequests is one "to the altar of St. Catharine, at Bytton, in the parish chirch ther, for myn ancesters be buried in that chapell."

This chapel, of which I have more to say, is still appurtenant to Barre's Court.

And with regard to her "ancesters," I would refer to a very long and interesting assise roll of novel disseisin, which I found at Carlton Ride, 19 and 20 Rich. II., M. 2. 19. 2,—a most valuable document in a genealogical point of view, as several descents are laid down in pedigree. In this trial, the father and mother of Lady Barre, viz. Thomas Rigge and Catharine his wife, were plaintiffs, against Sir John Devereux and Joan his wife (relict of John de Bitton), touching certain lands in *Bitton Hanham*, &c., wherein it is laid down that the said Catherine was the heir of John de Bitton, by Margaret sister of Cecily, the wife of Sir Nicholas Berkley. Aske, in his Collection, before quoted, says that this Sir John Bitton died in Portugal; that he married Joanna Hurst, and in the Assise Roll it is stated that she afterwards married Sir John Devereux; which Sir John Bitton was son and heir of Matthew de Bitton, whose deed, dated at Hannam, 23 Edw. III., I have before mentioned.

There is a curious circumstance in the life of this man, which I wish to mention.

Upon an inquisition, in 48 Edw. III., to inquire who were the destroyers of game in the Chace of Kingswood, he is found to be, with others, "communis malefactor de venacione Dom. Regis." Upon his being taken, he acknowledges his transgressions, and throws himself on the king's mercy—"et committitur prisone Dom. Regis in custodia vicecomitis quousque justiciarii de ipso habeant locutionem cum consilio Dom. R." This record is among certain forest proceedings at the Chapter House, Westminster.

What became of him afterwards I cannot discover,—whether he was tried, or died in prison, or was executed. Though *his* name appears in the court-roll of Bitton in that reign, in the next year John de Bitton, his son, appears at the court. It was on Friday in the third week of Lent that he was committed, which in that year (1374) would be the 3rd of March; and on the Fine Roll of the same year there appears the writ of his "Diem Clausit Extremum," which is dated April 10. In the ordinance of the chantry at Newland, founded by Joan Greyndon, on the death of her husband (Pat. 24 Hen. VI. p. 2, M. 17), in which prayers were to be offered for the good estate of her relations, she altogether omits the name of this Matthew, who was her

grandfather, though she mentions the generations above and below him.

It has been supposed that for his transgressions, the killing of thirty-seven head of deer, he might have been excommunicated, and that if he died under that sentence he would not be entitled to the prayers to be offered in the said chantry.

It will be recollected that Leland said that Kingswood Forest was close to Barre's Court.

In the deed quoted above he calls himself the son and heir of John de Button, and in the Assise Roll he is styled the son and heir of John (the son of John) and Hawise. Also in a Fine (Hil. 18 Edw. III.), John (son of John) and Hawise, occur; which John was the heir of an elder brother, *Thomas*, who died without issue.

This is that John, the son of John, who (see Rot. Orig. 1 Edw. II., rot. 9) did homage "ut nepos et hæres Thomæ de Bitton Episcopi Exon: avunculi sui," and whose wife Hawise was the second daughter and co-heir of Matthew Furneaux, by whom, besides his son Matthew, he had three daughters, viz. *Maud*, who first married William de la More, and secondly, Simon *Bassett;* Elizabeth, married to Phil. *Hampton; Beatrix*, married to George *Strode*, whose descendants were co-heirs on the death of Lady Barre. In 18 Edw. II., by fine he acquired lands in Bitton, Hanham, &c.

It is to be regretted that no inquisitions post mortem have been found of any of the family, excepting this Thomas de Bitton just mentioned, who was Bishop of Exeter* from 1293 to 1307, having before been Dean of

* I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Oliver, of Exeter, for the following biographical sketch of this Thomas de Button, or Bitton, Bishop of Exeter: "Of a worshipful family, was promoted from the Deanery of Wells to the See of Exeter, in November 1292 (Prynne's Records, vol. iii. 474); and the temporalities were restored to him on 2nd December ensuing. Unfortunately, his register has long since perished, but in that of his successor Walter Stapleton, fol. 28, is preserved the interesting report of his visitation of Bosham Collegiate Church, Sussex, on 28th July, 1294: and again in fol. 175, his appropriation to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, of the Church of St. Uvelus, or Evall, in Cornwall, for the maintenance of his Obit. The original instrument, dated Exeter, 15th October, 1297, with his beautiful seal attached, is carefully preserved in the Exchequer Room of the Cathedral, with King Edward the First's license, dated 10th of April following.

"The Bishop, in 1293, appropriated to St. John Baptist's Hospital in Wells, the Church of West Down, in Devonshire. Two years later he obtained a market for Paignton, as also for Newport, near Barnstaple.

"A curious document is extant in the Episcopal Archives at Exeter, viz. a grant of forty days' indulgence, by three archbishops and five bishops, dated Rome,

Wells from 1284 to 1293, during which time, viz. in 1287, it appears, by a Plea Roll, 15 Edw. I. m. 3, that his cow and two bullocks were seized by De la More, a lord of one of the manors in Bitton; and by another Plea Roll, 12 Edw. I. Mic. (52), he recovered a right of estover in Bitton on the death "cujusdam mulieris,"—his mother, who had a life interest in it, as it had always been enjoyed by William de Bitton, his *uncle*, whose heir he was: so that there can be no doubt that he also had his residence at Hannam. In 1299 he obtained license from the Bishop of Worcester to build and endow the chantry chapel of St. Catherine, adjoining the mother church of Bitton, over the bodies of his father and mother there buried; the same, no doubt, that is mentioned by Lady Barre in her will, and is still appurtenant to Barre's Court.

A. D. 1300, in favour of all true penitents, who should avail themselves of the bishop's spiritual ministry, or offer up prayers for his prosperity whilst living, or for the repose of his soul after his death, and for the departed souls of his parents, brothers, and sisters. Three only of the eight seals originally attached to the instrument are in fair preservation, viz. of Basil, Archbishop of Jerusalem; of Ademelphus, Archbishop of Cosenza; and of Manfrid, Bishop of St. Mark's, Venice.

"In nearly the beginning of the earliest Register, at Exeter, Bishop Bronscombe's, is found Bishop Bitton's purchase-deed, bearing date Sunday before St. Lawrence, 1302, of *Kelly*, in St. Alun's parish, Cornwall, from William de Rostourek, for ten pounds of silver. In the Monasticon of the Exeter diocese are printed, p. 445, his Lordship's excellent regulations for the Collegiate Church of Crediton. To the Abbey of Tavistock he appropriated, on 26th August, 1304, the Church of Barrington. On 31st December 1305, he assigned Walkhampton Church to the Abbot and Convent of Buckland. The Fabric Rolls of his *Cathedral* abundantly testify to the encouragement he gave to the prosecution of its building.

"The Bishop was unable to attend the Parliament summoned to meet at Carlisle, within the Octave of St. Hilary, (January) 1307, to treat 'super ordinatione et stabilitate terræ Scotiæ.' According to the *Chronicon* of Exeter Church, he died 17th September, that year (Hooker says 21st of September); but we prefer the Cathedral Calendar or Martyrologium, the 25th of September 1307. He was buried just before the lowest step of the high altar. According to Leland (Itin. vol. iii. p. 57) his grave-stone was inscribed:

"THO. BYTTEN, EPUS. EXON.

"From a deed of 17th July, 1310, I learn that his executors were enabled from his means, to erect the new Chapel of St. Gabriel, in the Priest's Hospital, at Clist.

"That he was a general favourite amongst his episcopal brethren, of the Province of Canterbury, is manifest from the encouragement they gave to the faithful of their respective dioceses, 'ad orandum pro animâ bonæ memoriæ Thomæ, quondam Exoniensis episcopi.'

"Godwin commemorates the tastefully decorated brass on his grave; but that has long since disappeared. In taking up the floor of the choir, in August, 1763, the large slab was removed, covering his very shallow walled tomb, in which lay a leaden coffin six feet long; the skeleton was nearly entire. On the right side stood a small chalice, covered with a paten; a piece of silk or linen was wound round the stem; amongst the dust was discovered a fair gold ring with a large sapphire set in it, and some fragments of a wooden crosier. The remains were respectfully covered; but the ring and chalice are preserved within a case in the Chapter House. In the inventory of the Cathedral Plate, A. D. 1327, Bishop Bitton is recorded as the donor of two silver candlesticks, weight 3*s.* and 8*d.*, and of a silver holy water vase, with two sprinklers, weighing 10*s.*"

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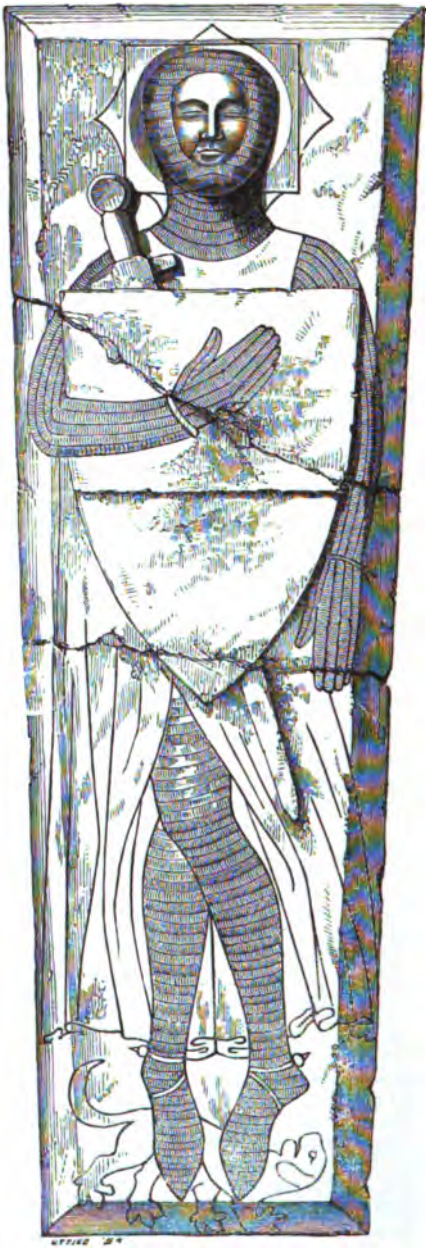

Effigy, partly incised, the head in relief, discovered in Bitton Church, Gloucestershire, in 1826.

SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT ROBERT DE BITTON.

I annex a copy of the ordinance of this chantry from the episcopal archives at Worcester, and a cut of the bishop's seal from the archives at Exeter, and a copy of the document to which that is appended. For these I am indebted to the obliging courtesy of the gentlemen who have the custody of these documents. (See p. 257, *infra*.)

In 1822 a stone coffin was discovered at the foot of the altar-steps of this chantry at Bitton Church. Views of the beautiful sedilia, with richly crocketed canopies, in this chantry chapel, have appeared in Collings' "Details of Gothic Architecture." The remains had evidently been disturbed, and all I found was a rowel-spur. It was probably the coffin of the bishop's father. It is now preserved near the chantry.

It has been shown above, that John, the bishop's nephew, was the son of John; and, by a pedigree quoted in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 271, he is proved to be the son of Adam de Bitton; and from that fact, and the chantry ordinance, it was with good reason concluded, that the incised slab, which is the subject of a paper in that volume of the Archæologia, represented Sir Walter de Bitton. (I annex a correct woodcut of the slab in this place.) That conclusion, not hastily made, but incorrect from want of further evidence, I have reason now to think was altogether a mistake; and I wish to take this opportunity of correcting it, as, from further researches made since the publication of that paper, I think I am able to do.

The costume of this figure was indeed considered to be of an earlier date than the probable time of the decease of the bishop's father; though it was just possible, by an uncommon occurrence, that he might have died in 1228, the date laid down in a pedigree drawn by Ralfe Brooke, that the said *Walter* died.

But supposing such a person as Walter de Bitton ever existed (of which no other proof than this pedigree has yet been found), there certainly seemed to be a generation omitted. And so it now turns out; for by certain fines which I have discovered, and other records, the name of Robert, the son of Robert de Bitton, occurs, and that of Adam, the son of Robert.

It was also supposed that the chantry of St. Catherine was destroyed—that it was on the *south* side of the church,

on the site where this incised slab was discovered in 1826, with other remains and foundations of buildings. But now the question seems to be cleared up by the discovery of a pedigree in Harl. MS. No. 1543, fol. 186, the early entries in which are confirmed by the fines, &c., I have just named. And it is somewhat remarkable that no document has yet been found in which the name of Walter de Bitton, who stands at the head of Ralfe Brooke's pedigree, occurs, and who is said to have died in 1228.

But to proceed with the newly-discovered pedigree,

"Summa sequar fastigia rerum."

Adam D'Ameneville, who obtained the manor of Bitton by grant from Henry II.,—service one knight's fee,—appears by this pedigree to have had *two* sons called Robert. The one is entered as *Robert* D'Ameneville, the other Robert de Button. The first, to whom Henry III., by charter (11 Hen. III. Pt. 1, No. 143, Tower Records), confirmed the manor, had two daughters, each called Petronilla. "The manor of Bitton was divided between these two Petronils," is written on the pedigree. The one married William Putot, the other Nicolas Oxehaye, by whom the knight's fee was divided; for it appears in Testa de Neville that each of these paid half a knight's fee for service in Bitton, for lands of Robert D'Ameneville.

After that time the two moieties went by the names of "Medietas Manerii de Bitton," and "Medietas Manerii de Bitton, vocata *Oldelande*." The former descended to the heirs of William de Putot, who, apparently, was no mean person, having been appointed (Pat. 5 H. III.) Custos of the Mint and Stannaries of Cornwall, Sheriff of Gloucester six years (Pat. 18 H. III.), Custos of the Coast of the Sea of Bristol, and who, on account of his services in Gascony, 1225 (Close Roll), induced Henry III. to excuse his father-in-law's scutage money, and grant other indulgences: his daughter married Hugh de Vivon, second son of Hugh de Vivon, Steward of Poictou. It is worthy of record that I have found in Bitton churchyard fragments of two glazed tiles bearing the arms of De Vivon, in chief a label of five points. Upon the death of De Vivon, who was slain in Wales A.D. 1257, his widow married David le Blund, whose son David, by her, she enfeoffed with her Bitton estate, cut-

ting off her only son, John de Vivon, by her first husband; about which there was an assise at Gloucester (15 Edw. I.), in which it is recorded, that when on a visit to her son David le Blund at the manerium of Bitton, she was taken ill; and, that it might not be said that she had never left her residence after she had given it to her son David and his wife Amabilla, she most wittingly caused herself to be carried to the vicarage-house close by, and there she died in 1267.

There was a regular descent of this moiety of the manor in the *Blount* family down to *Margaret*, sole daughter and heir of Sir Simon Blount, who married Lord John Hussey of Lincolnshire, who, with his son Sir William Hussey, in 1515, after the wife's death, aliened the estates to Sir Maurice Berkley and others. I mention this to prove that Sir John Barre was not the husband of this Margaret Blount, and *so* acquired property in Bitton, as is stated by Atkyns, and copied by Croke and others, who have followed the same authority.

The arms of Blount of Bitton were, azure, two bars arg., over all an escarbuncle of eight rays, or, pomettée and florettée gules. Other branches of the family omitted the escarbuncle.

I cannot help thinking that in some manner Robert *D'Ameneville*, the father of Petronilla, to whom the manor of Bitton was first granted, was related to *Geoffry de Mandeville*, whose shield on his effigy in the Temple Church bears an escarbuncle of eight rays, and that therefore David le Blund placed that charge over his own coat upon his marriage with the widow of De Vivon, the heiress of the descendants of D'Ameneville, or Mandeville. There is one fact in favour of this view, viz. that the Honour of Gloucester was for a time held by Geoffry de *Mandeville*,—when he became Earl of Gloucester "jure uxoris Isabel, the divorced wife of John Plantagenet" (Nicolas): and Bitton was a part of that Honour, and some part of the parish is still under its jurisdiction.

As for the other moiety of the Manor, which was Oxehaye's, and was afterwards called Oldland, that was passed to De la More, as appears (Plac. Juratis et Assisis, 15 Edw. I., M. 29). Some of the land he and his wife passed by fine (21 Hen. III.) to Robert, the son of Robert de Bitton;

and the site of Hannam, Barre's Court, is in that part of the parish called Oldland. They aliened other portions of it; and all that remained to her, when a widow without issue (under her maiden name, which, as was customary, she retained), she gave to the Nuns of Lacock (Chart. fol. 120 a, penes Mr. Talbot). I have in my possession the last lease which the abbess granted of these lands, and I have identified them as abutting on the Barre's Court estate.

Robert, the son of Robert de Button, having thus acquired lands at *Hannam* (it is probable, from the father being so called, that there was an earlier purchase), he would migrate thither from his father's manerium at Bitton, two miles off, and, taking up his residence there on his own estate, would naturally be called *De Bitton*. His descendants would of course take the same name.

Supposing it correct, as laid down in this pedigree, that Adam de Bitton was the grandfather of John, the " nepos et heres " of Thomas de Bitton the Bishop, he must have been the father over whose body the chantry chapel of St. Catherine was built. But the incised slab was not found there, but on the *south* side of the church, where, from foundations and other traces, there evidently must have been a transept, the very situation in which it is supposed to have been usual in early times for the founders of churches to have their mortuary chapels. (See a paper by Mr. Lethieullier, in 2nd vol. of the Archæologia, p. 292.)

In 1826, I discovered that slab, and also the slab of *Emmota de Hastinges* close by its side (a lady, who seems to have lived before the time of existing records, but no doubt she was an heiress and a wife), and a fragment of another on which there remained only the word ICI; since that date, within the very same space, but nearer the body of the church, a very early stone coffin has been found, in which were some large bones and other human remains, and I collected no less than seven or eight sculls within the space. My opinion now is, that the slab represents one of the *Roberts* de Bitton, probably the first, judging from the position of the slab, in the middle of the chapel (see Archæologia, vol. xxii. p. 437), and also the style and costume; and that this site was the burial-place of the family, *prior* to the foundation of the chantry of St. Catherine:—and

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INCISED SEPULCHRAL SLAB IN WELLS CATHEDRAL.

Supposed to be the Memorial of BISHOP WILLIAM DE BITTON, second of the name, who died A. D. 1274.

that the Bishop was induced, out of respect to his father, or from want of room, to select another resting-place for the family: in course of years the other would fall into decay, especially as the charge of supporting the new one was to be borne by the family (see the ordinance *infra*), and it became hidden till its foundations and contents were discovered in 1826.

I have made diligent search (by the kind permission of Mr. Clifton) among the archives at Worcester, but can find no notice of any chantry save one;—negative proof in favour of my view, that the transept on the south side of Bitton Church was the mortuary chapel of the original De Bittons. There must have been other monuments there, for, besides those already mentioned, I have found fragments of two cross-legged figures.

To any courteous reader of these notices of by-gone worthies, I would say,

"Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum."

There were two Bishops of Wells, of the same family; the incised sepulchral slab of one is here represented.

Biographers have not ascertained in what degree the Bishop of Exeter was related to the Bishops of Wells; but as in the Plea Roll quoted above, he pleads that he was the heir of an uncle *William*, it is not improbable that the said William was the last Bishop of Wells of that name, who died 1274.

H. T. Ellacombe, M.A., F.S.A.

Carta Appropriationis Ecclesie Sancti Uvely ad obitum Domini Thome Episcopi Exonie, &c., prout patet intuenti.

Universis presentes literas inspecturis Thomas permissione divina Exoniensis Episcopus Salutem et pacem in Domino sempiternam. Si celestis regni participes effici, si perhennis glorie Dyademate coronari concupiscimus, et sitimus profecto summo desiderio vigilantique studio diem extremum exanimis, in quo Deus qui cuncta creavit ex nichilo

judicaturus est mundum et redditurus unicuique sive bonum sive malum secundum suorum exigentiam meritorum, modis quos restat omnibus prout est possibile bonis operibus prevenire, ut igitur post depositam mortalitatis nostre materiam per exercitium bonorum operum que fecerimus eternorum intuitu dum sumus in via indulgenciam culparum quas cotidie contrahimus, ac remissionem penarum quibus nos mundus demon et carnis opera reddunt obnoxios, incessanter sanctorum meritis et oracionum suffragiis suffulti, cum ipse Deus et Dominus omnium ad judicandum venerit, facilius consequamur. De premissis non immerito sollicite cogitantes, ecclesiam sancti Uvely in Cornubia que de nostro patronatu existit cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis una cum jurisdictione in spiritualibus ejusdem ecclesie cum plebe sua consimili qualem Archidiaconi Exoniensis Dyocesis optinent in Ecclesiis et plebibus sibi subjectis, dilectis in Christo filiis Decano et Capitulo nostro Exoniensi in usus proprios assignamus, et per presentis attestacionem scripture appropriamus, in forma inferius annotata perpetuo possidendam, videlicet, quod predicti Decanus et Capitulum suis sumptibus perpetuo inveniant duos presbiteros ydoneos et perpetuos, quorum unus pro salubri statu nostro quoad vescerimus missam de sancto spiritu cum horis canonicis nocturnis et diurnis, et postquam de presenti vita migraverimus pro anima nostra omniumque animabus predecessorum nostrorum progenitorum ac eciam benefactorum spiritualiumque nostrorum missam pro defunctis cum placebo et dirige ac commendacione singulis diebus hora matutinali ad altare beate marie virginis in dicta Excniensi Ecclesia, alter vero pro anima magistri Thome de Bodeham quondam Archidiaconi Tottonye omniumque requie defunctorum idem officium pro defunctis et in forma predicta ad altare beati Gabrielis archangeli, cotidie celebrabunt. Presbiter vero pro nobis intitulatus quinque marcas sterlingorum, celebraturus autem pro anima dicti Archidiaconi quatuor marcas cum dimidia nomine stipendiorum per manus senescallorum dictorum Decani et Capituli ad quatuor anni terminos principales percipient annuatim. Si vero aliquis eorum decesserit vel alias propter culpam suam merito amotus fuerit, alius presbiter ydoneus per nos dum vecerimus et post mortem nostram per ipsos Decanum et capitulum in locum sic defuncti vel amoti absque mora qualibet subrogetur; et nichilominus dicti Decanus et Capitulum omnia que eisdem presbiteris fuerint necessaria ad divinorum officia exequenda imprimis et pro anima celebris memorie Domine Alianore quondam consortis Domini illustris Regis Anglie fiat solempnis missa de sancto spiritu ad majus altare in Ecclesia Exoniensi per dictos Decanum et Capitulum eorumque successores. Et post mortem nostram annis singulis eo die quo nos migrare contingat e seculo, per singulas anni revoluciones, sollempnis anniversarius dies pro anima nostra in perpetuam per eosdem. Ita quod quilibet canonicus, tam in ipsa solempni missa celebranda de sancto spiritu nobis viventibus quam post mortem nostram die anniversarii nostri predicti dum hujusmodi sollempnia agantur, corporaliter presens in choro duos solidos, quilibet vicarius duodecim denarios, quilibet Clericus de secunda forma sex denarios, quilibet puer chori duos denarios, Clericus de Scakario cum ministris suis duos solidos, Custores pro classico duodecim denarios, et quilibet presbiter de civitate et suburbio Exonie tunc presens unum denarium per manus senescallorum dictorum decani et Capituli, dum ipsa minis-

teria divina celebrantur in choro juxta antiquam ipsius ecclesie consuetudinem, et fratres minores Exonie duos solidos ad pytanctiam de bonis ipsius Ecclesie perpetuo percipiant ipso die. Proviso tamen quod si aliquis in dicta Exoniensi Ecclesia duplici aut pluri officio fungatur non officii sed persone duntaxat in dicta distribucione ratio habeatur. Et nichilominus ipsi Decanus et Capitulum invenient quatuor cereos circa sarcofagum in quo quiescimus dum placebo et dirige celebrabitur et per totum diem sequentem die obitus nostri continue ardentes cum sufficienti Thure quod eodem die ad divinum ministerium requiretur. Volumus etiam et ordinamus ut totum residuum proventuum dicte Ecclesie Sancti Uvely inter canonicos quos predicte solempnitati personaliter interesse contigerit equaliter dividatur, et nequaquam in usus alios convertatur, salva competenti vicaria in dicta Ecclesia Sancti Uvely quam in toto altilagio et toto sanctuario consistere volumus sicut consistere consuevit ab antiquo per nos et successores nostros honeste persone que omnia onera ordinaria debita et consueta sustinebit, in quibus reparacionem cancelli includi intelligimus, perpetuis temporibus conferenda. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus quod quilibet Decanus et Canonicus Exoniensis in sui creatione hanc nostram ordinationem una cum aliis et antiquis et approbatis Ecclesie Exoniensis consuetudinibus juret per omnia observare. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus literis sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Actum et datum Exonie Idibus Octobris Anno Domini millesimo Ducentesimo nonagesimo Septimo, et consecrationis nostre Sexto. [15 October, 1297.]

An impression of Bishop Bitton's seal is attached.

Ex Registro Godefredi Gifford. Fol. 39.

(Episcopal Archives at Worcester.)

"Pro Perpetua Cantaria in Capella, &c. Catherinæ virginis de Button ad instanciam Ven. fratris, Dom. Thomæ Ep'i Exon. concessa."

E. Universis presentes litteras inspecturis Godefridus, &c., salutem et pacem in Domino sempiternam.

Cum a nobis quod justum est petitur et honestum, consequens est ut ex caritatis affluentia petentis desideria libencius impleamur: Sane venerabilis fratris nostri Domini Thomæ, Dei gratia Exoniensis Episcopi, oblata nobis supplicacio continebat; quod, cum ipse nuper speciali devocionis affeccione ductus, quandam Capellam in honore Beatissimæ Katherinæ Virginis apud Button nostræ Diocesis, in qua ipsius patris et matris Corpora requiescunt humata, erigi et construi fecerit, Ecclesiæ Matrici loci ejusdem contiguam et conjunctam, ac quandam Cantariam pro animabus eorundem ipsiusque antecessorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum idem Episcopus ordinaverit temporum successu faciendam ibidem: Nos ad hujus Cantariam perpetuandam, nostram super hoc auctoritatem impertiri dignaremur pariter et assensum. Volentes igitur ejusdem patris votivo affectui libenter annuere, cujus effectus ad hoc dirigitur, re ipsa probante, ut cultus divinus per hoc quod agitur amplietur, sperantesque quod ex hoc nullum futurum sit ecclesiæ matrici prejudicium, presertim cum ipse in se et heredes suos ejusdem Capellæ et Capellani ministrantis in eâdem, onera susceperit, perpetuo supportanda, prefatam Cantariam et ipsius ordinacionem ratam et acceptam habentes, dicto patri et ipsius heredibus eandem Cantariam habendi et faciendi in eâdem Capella per Cappellanum idoneum suis sumptibus sustentandum, nobis vel alii ad quem de jure pertinet primitus presentandum, tenore presentium plenam in Domino concedimus facultatem; et ipsam Cantariam, quantum ad nos pertinet, confirmamus perpetuis temporibus duraturam, dum tamen dictæ Ecclesiæ Rectoris et Vicarii affuerit expressus assensus. Et ne hoc apud quenquam, effluentibus temporum curriculis, in dubium revocetur, sigillum nostrum presentibus duximus apponendum.

Datum apud Bredon 2^do^ Id: Maii A°. Dñi. MCC nonogesimo.

DEED AND SEAL OF MATTHEW DE BITTON.

(MS. Harl. 1443, fol. 41, here printed *in extenso*.)

NOVERINT universi, per præsentes, quod ego Matheus de Button, filius et hæres domini Johannis de Button, militis, tradidi, etc., Johanni Pointell et Aliciæ uxori ejus, et Johanni filio eorundem, totum illud tenementum, etc., quod Llewellinus Reyner (?) quondam tenuit apud Goldwell, infra hundredum de Button, etc. Hiis testibus, Nicolao Bareley, Edmundo de Blount, Willelmo Marmion, Johanne Burnell, et aliis. Datum apud Hannam, die Sabbati, in festo Assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni Regis Edwardi tertii a conquestu vicesimo nono. [Aug. 25, 1355.]

NOTICES OF DECORATIVE PAVEMENT TILES, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH HERALDIC BEARINGS, EXISTING IN CHURCHES IN SOMERSETSHIRE.

The following notices of certain pavement tiles, exhibiting heraldic decorations, and to be seen in churches in the county of Somerset, comprise the results of the examination of sixty-six churches, in the course of visits made for this especial purpose. These ancient decorations claim the attention of the antiquary, not merely on account of the pleasing designs and elegant arrangements of patterns displayed on such tiles, but as serving, not infrequently, to point out the benefactors to churches, or those ancient families once resident in their vicinity. The observations here offered are limited to such decorative tiles as present armorial bearings, and to the endeavour to appropriate them to the families of the county in olden times, to whom they properly belong.

At the same time, a list will be found subjoined of those parishes included in the survey above mentioned, and in the churches of which no heraldic decorations of this nature were found to exist.

The first place to be noticed, in which such heraldic tiles were found, is Leighland Chapel, in the parish of Old Cleeve. In this structure upwards of two hundred decorative pavement tiles have been preserved, of which twelve are heraldic. Several, however, occur repeated, and the following are the distinct armorial bearings, here presented to view.

No. 1. *Barry of six.*—This coat, I presume, was intended for that of Pointz, as some of that family bore Barry of six, gu. and or; whilst others bore Barry of ten, or Barry of eight, and Paly of ten is the coat assigned

to the name of Pointz in Cott. MS. Faust., E. 3, p. 9. But as a branch of this ancient family held the principal estate in Leighland for many generations, and as the Chapel was near their residence, it appears probable that these tiles were intended to display their arms. The family was early settled in Somersetshire. Sir Hugh de Pointz married Hawise, daughter and co-heiress of William Mallet, of Curry Mallet, in that county, by whom he had the manor. He died 4 Henry III., leaving issue, Nicholas, his son and heir. The manor continued in the family until after 1337. In Old Cleeve Church are several monuments to the Pointz family; also in Dunster, which is in the same neighbourhood. Some of the family were settled at Greenham, in the parish of Ashbrittle, county of Somerset, and intermarried with the Chichesters of Arlington, the Pynes of East Down, county of Devon, and other ancient families.

No. 2. *A Cross engrailed.*—One of the bearings of the baronial house of Mohun was—or, a cross engr. sa.; the other was—gu. a dexter arm habited in a maunch, erm. Sir William de Mohun, who came to England with the Conqueror, was of an ancient family in Normandy, and was rewarded by the Conqueror with the Barony of Dunster (near Leighland) and many other manors in Somerset and other counties. William de Mohun, who, with one of the Montacutes, endowed the Priory of Brewton in 1142, and was buried there in 1160, used the cross engrailed. John de Mohun, 18 Edward II., bore it on his seal. And the Mohuns, Lords of Okehampton, used no other bearing.

No. 3. *A Trivet.*—The family of Trivet, early seated in Somerset, had—arg. a Trivet sa. for their arms. They were Lords of Otterhampton, 1160, and resided at Durborough Heathfield, 1216. Amongst other estates, they held lands at the following places in the county:—49 Henry III. at Passlet; 8 Edward I. at Bawriss; 3 Edward III. at Okehampton, in the manor of Wiveliscombe. The manor of Bridgewater, long held by them, was sold 6 Henry VI.; and Chilton Trivet, which the family had possessed for many generations, passed by marriage to John de Compton, 25 Henry VI. In a perambulation, 26 Edward I., Sir William

Trivet was on the jury, with other persons of note in Somersetshire. In 1348, John Trivet was M.P. for the county; and in 1386, Sir Thomas Trivet was Admiral of the South of England.

No. 4. *Three Fusils in Fess.*—The arms of the Montacutes, a family long connected with the county of Somerset. Drogo de Montacute was one of the chieftains who came to England with William, Duke of Normandy, in the retinue of Robert, Earl of Morton, under whom he enjoyed the manor of Shepton Montacute, county of Somerset, which became the seat of his barony. He also was rewarded by the Conqueror with Sutton Montis (a name corrupted from Montacute), which the family held until *temp.* Henry VIII. Other manors and estates were also bestowed on him by William I. for his services. William de Montacute was Sheriff of Somerset, 1205, 1206, 1207; and in 1306 another of the same family served that office. Simon de Montacute was M.P. for the county in 1315. The arms of the family are still to be seen in Charlcombe and Chedzoy Churches. One of the Montacutes endowed the Priory of Brewton (with William de Mohun) in 1142. *Temp.* Edward III., William de Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury, married a daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord Mohun, of Dunster, and in her right held the manor of Catcombe (near Leighland), besides other possessions in Somersetshire. She died 3 Henry V.

No. 5. *Fretty.*—The Stantons bore, Fretty, gu. and or; and at one time they possessed considerable estates in the county of Somerset. Robert Stanton, *temp.* Henry II., and after him Sir Geoffrey (*temp.* Henry III.), possessed lands at Timbsborough, Stowey, and other places in Somerset. White Stanton was held by the family *temp.* Edward II.

No. 6. Appears to be designed for—*Quarterly, a bend.*—These arms were borne by Fitz Nicholas. Sir Thomas Fitz Nicholas, who held Tickenham, county Somerset, 7 Richard III., was descended from Roger de Tickenham, living *temp.* Richard I. Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Fitz Nicholas, married Robert Pointz, who held

the manor 5 Henry IV.: it remained in the family until 1640, when his descendant, Sir Nicholas Pointz, resided there. This bearing may, however, be that of the Loring family—quarterly arg. and gu. a bend of the second. The sinister direction of the bend on this tile, it should be observed, may be owing to an inadvertent error of the workman, in not reversing the coat in preparing the stamp or mould by means of which these tiles were made.

No. 7. *Gyronny of eight.*—The coat of the Peverills, an ancient family, who had large possessions in the west of England, one of whom, Sir Thomas Peverill, *temp.* Edward III., married Margaret, sister of Sir Hugh Courtney, and in her right held the manor of Wooton Courtney, near Leighland. It remained in the Peverill family until *temp.* Henry VI.

No. 8. *Three Cinquefoils.*—The baronial family of Bardolf bore, az. three cinquefoils, or. Hugh de Bardolf was Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, 1189. The founder of the family came to England with the Conqueror; anciently they had a seat at Burleston, county Dorset, and held considerable estates in that and other counties. In the church of East Harptree, Somerset, is the quartering of Bardolf on a monument to Sir John Newton.

No. 9. *Vair.*—The Beauchamps of Hache Beauchamp had this bearing. The chief of the family, John de Beauchamp, was summoned to Parliament in 1299. In 1304, a Chantry was endowed at Stoke-under-Hamdon, by one of the family. They possessed Shepton Beauchamp for many generations: Chafcombe, 7 Edward II.; Chelworth, 8 Edward II.; Ilton, 17 Edward III.; besides other estates in Somersetshire. *Temp.* Edward III., John de Beauchamp, of Hache, married Alice, daughter of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

No. 10. *A Pale Lozengy.*—The Furneaux, of Kilve, county Somerset, descended from Furnelles, lords of that place in 1199, had for their arms, sa. a pale lozengy, arg. Walter de Furneaux held the hamlet of Holford, by service of one knight's fee, of John de Mohun, 4 Edward III.

Members of the family represented the county in 1328 and 1345; and one was sheriff in 1305.

No. 11. Designed, I presume, for *a Bend charged with three Roses*—which are the arms of Cary.* This family at one time held considerable estates in Somerset. Their ancestor was Adam Cary, of Castle Cary, county Somerset, from whom fifteen descents are given in Harl. MS. 1641, p. 65. Adam Cary was living 1198. Members of the family intermarried with the Courtneys, Pawletts, Portmans, &c.

No. 12. Seems to be intended to represent *a Fret engrailed.*—I do not know any family with such arms connected with Somersetshire.

Exton.—In the church of this parish there are many decorative pavement tiles; only one now existing there displays any heraldic design.

No. 13. This may be intended for *a Pale between four Quatrefoils.* I am, however, wholly at a loss to suggest any Somersetshire family to whom such a bearing belonged.

Nettlecombe.—One heraldic tile only exists here.

No. 14. *Five Lozenges in Bend*—the arms of the ancient family of Raleigh, descended from the Raleighs of Raleigh, county Devon, *temp.* Henry II. They held Nettlecombe from 1188 to 1422. Ralph de Raleigh claimed lands at Porlock in 1189. Simon de Raleigh possessed part of the manor of Cutcombe (thence called Cutcombe Raleigh), 26 Edward I. It came to him from the family of Tort, of Oule Knoll in Carhampton parish. 4 Edward III., John de Raleigh held the manor of Allerford of John de Mohun. 16 Richard II., Peter Bratton held Culbone of John de Raleigh. 7 Henry VI., Simon de Raleigh had lands at Limberscombe. 1359,

* The bend is here incorrectly given, no doubt, as sinister, by an oversight of the workman, in not reversing the design upon the stamp or mould. Similar errors occur in other examples of heraldic tiles.

John de Raleigh was sheriff, and in 1363 M.P. for the county of Somerset.

St. Decumans.—In the church of this parish there exist about two hundred decorative tiles, of which forty present heraldic bearings, some of them repeated; only fifteen are distinct coats, and of these several are the same as were before described, found in Leighland Chapel. About fifteen years since, the whole of one aisle of the church was paved with decorative tiles; they have since been displaced, and those which remain here are mostly about the font. Nos. 1, 3, 4, (which was also discovered in Old Cleeve Church,) 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, as found in Leighland Chapel.

No. 15. *A Bendlet between* (possibly) *six Roses or Quatrefoils.*—This may be the coat of the Brideport family, which removed from Dorsetshire into Somersetshire. They bore —arg. a bend az. between six roses gules.

No. 16. *A Bar between six Crosses Potent.*—This coat may have been intended for a fess between six cross crosslets, the arms of Beauchamp, a family which had estates in Somerset at a very early period. Richard de Beauchamp held lands in the county in 1100. His descendant John, in 1272. John de Beauchamp was M.P. for Somerset in 1307 and 1313. Thomas de Beauchamp, 1399 and 1424.

No. 17. This may be designed for *six Roses*, 3, 2, and 1, (Palton?) John de Palton was lord of Palton, co. Somerset, 20 Edward II. His great grandson, Sir William Palton, married a daughter of Sir John Worth, of Brompton. Ralph, Sir William's brother, was of Camerton, in the same county. The Paltons also held Elworthy, a few miles from St. Decumans, 20 Edward II.

No. 18. *Three Bends.*—The coat of the ancient house of Newburgh. Roger de Newburgh held lands of the Mohuns in Somerset, 1327. John Newburgh was sheriff of the county, 1420; and in 1485, Thomas de Newburgh was one of the resident gentry. John de Newburgh married Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Pointz,

of Curry Mallet. A pedigree of the Newburghs, of Berkley, in the county of Somerset, is given in Harl. MS. 1445, Visit. 1623, and their arms appear in the church of that place.

No. 19. *Three Chevrons.*—The arms of Clare. Richard Fitz Gilbert, who came to England with William I., was ancestor of the Earls of Gloucester, who bore—or, three Chevrons, gu. He held lands at Porlock, in Somersetshire. The family had estates there, 7 Henry III. Gilbert de Clare, *temp.* Edward I., and Robert de Clare in the same reign, possessed lands in the county of Somerset. Sir John Mallet of Enmore married a daughter of Robert de Clare.

No. 20. *A Bend Lozengy.*—A branch of the ancient family of Sydenham, long resident in the neighbourhood of St. Decumans, had for their arms—arg. a bend lozengy sa. The Sydenhams held property in Somersetshire in King John's time; they possessed Sydenham, in Bridgewater, in his reign, and flourished there upwards of 500 years. Richard, second son of William de Sydenham, of that place, lived at Combe Sydenham, *temp.* Edward III., and appears to have been the first of the family who bore these arms, the elder branch having for their coat—arg. three rams sa. The descendants of Richard continued to use the bend lozengy, which appears on a monument to Sir George Sydenham, of Combe Sydenham, 1661, in Stogumber Church; and on a monument to one of the family, in Great St. Thomas' Church, Exeter. They held lands at Timberscombe, Porlock, Ashbrittle, and many other places in Somersetshire, from 1200 to a late date. The Sydenhams represented the county, in 1449, 1554, 1669, 1678, and 1702.

In the following list of churches visited, those places are enumerated in which no heraldic tiles were to be found; those churches where any decorative tiles exist, are here also noticed, an indication which may possibly prove acceptable to the antiquary visiting Somersetshire, who may

No. 1.—*Points.*

No. 2.—*Mohun.*

No. 3.—*Trivet.*

No. 4.—*Montacute.*

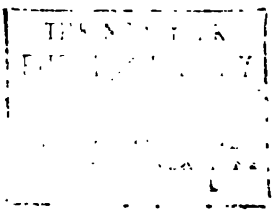
No. 5.—*Stanton, or Audley.*

No. 6.—*Fitz-Nicholas, or Loring.*

No. 7.—*Peverell.*

No. 8.—*Bardolf.*

Tiles in Leighland Chapel, par. of Old Cleeve.



No. 9.—*Beauchamp of Harbe.*

No. 10.—*Furneaux.*

No. 11.—*Cary.*

No. 12.—*(Not known).*

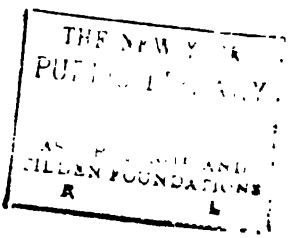
No. 14.—*Raleigh.*

No. 15.—*Brideport?*

No. 16.—*Beauchamp.*

No. 17.—*Palton.*

Nos. 9—12, Leighland Chapel. No. 14, Nettlecombe. No. 15, 16, 17, St. Decuman's.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take interest in ancient church decorations of this description. At the following parishes the search proved fruitless :—

Carhampton, Wooton Courtney (a few decorative tiles, but none heraldic), Lydeard St. Lawrence, West Bagborough, Cothelstone (a few tiles, none heraldic), Asholt, Enmore, Goathurst, Crocombe, Bishop's Lydeard, Brompton Ralph, Tollard (many decorative tiles, but none heraldic), Heathfield, Halse, Clatworthy, Langford Budville, Raddington (a fine collection of tiles, the little church having apparently at one time been paved with them, none however heraldic), Fitzhead, Hillfarrence, Ash Priors, Oake, Milverton, Huish Champflower (a few tiles, none heraldic), Chipstaple, Selworthy (one only, not heraldic), Treborough, Exford, Dulverton, Whithypool, Winsford, Stoke Pero, Porlock, Luccombe, Old Cleeve (a few, only one of them heraldic, being the same as No. 4, found at Leighland), Cannington, Charlinch, Spaxton, Monksilver, Minehead, Over Stowey, Nether Stowey, Kilton, Holford, Stringston, Stoke Courcey, Doddington, Kilve, Bicknoller (a few tiles, not heraldic), Dunster, Withycombe, Upton, Withiel, Flory, Timberscombe (some, none heraldic), Little Stoke, Williton, Elworthy, Stogumber, West Quantoxhead, East Quantoxhead, Cutcombe (a few, none heraldic), Luxborough, and Samford Bret.

Lewis Way.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST OCTAVO EDITION OF TYNDALE'S "NEWE TESTAMENT."

BY THE REV. JAMES LEE WARNER.

It is perhaps more than a coincidence, that the city where we are now assembled should be doubly associated with the names of Wickliffe and Tyndale. It was not merely the play of fancy, but a just and logical inference, which, in the mind of the church historian, led to that touching reflection on the first of these great men:—"The brook did convey his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over." And if we have ever gathered with interest round a Druid's grave —if we have ever speculated (not without emotion) on the identity of a monarch's dust; surely, all that interest and all that emotion well befit us here, on the banks of the classic river, immortalised by Wickliffe's ashes no less than by Shakespeare's verse.

The mind is apt to associate the two great translators. And yet the interval between them may be measured by no less than the difference between the pen and the printing press. The lapse of more than a century does but feebly convey to us the change which had passed over the world from Wickliffe to Tyndale.

"Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur anno." In 1430, the New Testament of Nicholas Belward had cost him four marks and forty pence, a sum nominally equivalent to 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, but more properly estimated by 40*l.* of our money. "Twenty years afterwards," says the Martyrologist, "the same price will serve well forty persons with so many books." And yet, where now are these precious volumes? Of Tyndale's first edition—of the 3000

copies of his 4to. New Testament—a mere mutilated fragment now alone survives! Of the earliest 8vo. edition, only one copy, with all its chapters (but that lacking its title-page), in like manner tells the tale! But the history of these editions forms so interesting an episode in the curiosities of ancient literature, that they are well deserving of notice on an occasion like the present, which brings the members of our society into immediate contact with Tyndale's "magnum opus" in one of its very earliest impressions.

The first *official* mention of Tyndale's New Testament is found in the "Prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his diocese, October 23, 1526." And whereas in that year there is evidence from other sources that Christopher Endhoven, a printer, of Antwerp, put forth an edition of Tyndale's Testament; it was long universally conceded, that the correspondence of date was sufficient to prove Endhoven's the edition thus prohibited, and it has been hastily assumed that no earlier edition had ever appeared. From Foxe to Hartwell Horne, however, this conclusion was arrived at in the face of many difficulties. The language of the "Prohibition" itself (which is given by Foxe at length) specifies at least two editions—one with glosses, another without them. The residence of Tyndale at Worms rendered it highly improbable that he should have entrusted his MSS. to a stranger at a distance, and carried his sheets through the press without devoting to them his own personal superintendence. Happily the research and acumen of an author, now living, the Rev. Christopher Anderson, of Edinburgh, enable the biblical archæologist to pursue his way through the above difficulties, and to pronounce without hesitation that Endhoven's was in fact the third edition of Tyndale's Testament, for that the great translator himself had previously elaborated, first, his quarto with glosses, and secondly (or, to speak more correctly, simultaneously), his octavo without glosses—both, as may be imagined, amidst much hindrance and interruption.

It was about the end of April, 1525, that Tyndale arrived at Cologne, with Roye, his amanuensis, and there, intent upon his purpose of giving the Holy Scriptures to his countrymen in their own language, he lays down at the press of Peter Quentell, a celebrated printer in that city,

the first page of his "Prologge," which opens with those memorable words:—

The Prologge.—I have here translated (brethren and susters most dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament.

Does any one require evidence that Quentell's types were employed? Let him take the initial letter of this very "Prologge," as preserved in the unique fragment in the library of the British Museum, and let him compare it with the initial letter of St. John's Gospel, in the Latin Bible of Rudelius, of which Quentell printed the first edition in 1527, and all his doubts will vanish. But further, does he require evidence tending to verify the date above assigned to the publication? Let him carefully examine the woodcut, which Quentell has twice used in his first folio edition of the treatises of Rupertus—"In Matthœum, libri xiii.," and "De glorificatione Trinitatis, libri ix.," which were finished at Cologne, June 12, 1526. There it has been mutilated, whereas in the New Testament it appears in its full dimensions, thus proving the Testament to have been the earlier publication.

But the case does not rest on mere typographical identity. The presses of Germany, in this eventful year, teemed more than ever with treatises of polemical divinity. As is quaintly observed by a contemporary:—"Typographia, ceu amplissima quœdam Machina, tormentaria excepit et brevi tempore multiplicavit, et quasi densissimam grandinem ejaculata est."—*Matth. Judex apud Wolfium.* Luther and the Reformation were at all costs to be put down, if possible, by their own weapons. Of sixteen publications, which Panzer has enumerated as issuing in 1525 from Quentell's establishment, no less than three-quarters of the number are directly anti-Lutheran. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Cochlœus, were by far the most active in this controversy, nor could Tyndale and his associate long escape the searching eye of such antagonists. But here we will let Cochlœus tell his own story, premising that he was at Cologne in 1525, but not in 1526. After reciting his discovery—"Nempe versari sub prœlo tria millia exemplarium Novi Testamenti Lutherani, in Angli-

canam linguam translati, ac processum esse jam usque ad literam Alphabeti K in ordine quaternionum,"—and then relating the means which he took to interdict the printer, he thus adds the sequel:—"Duo apostates Angli arreptis secum quaternionibus impressis aufugerunt navigio per Rhenum ascendentes Vuormaciam, ubi plebs pleno furore Lutherizabat, ut ibi per alium typographum cœptum perficerent opus."—*Cochl. comm. de actis et script., M. Lutheri.* Interesting would be the task of verifying these facts by an appeal to the verse and chapter, where traces of such an interruption could not be mistaken. But, alas! the wish is vain; for the only known fragment of this New Testament, Tyndale's quarto with glosses, comprises only a portion of the sheets printed at Cologne before the untoward interruption which Cochlœus has thus accounted for.

Leaving the quarto, then, as not under present observation, let us follow our translator to Worms, and connect his past proceedings with those which, under Providence, were now to be conducted to an issue more favourable; for he not only finished his quarto, but produced, in the very same year, an octavo without glosses, both which editions appear, as it were, simultaneously in the hands of the English reader. When he selected Cologne as the arena of his great struggle, he had perhaps looked only to the facilities which the place afforded as ground on which the triumphs of printing had long been conspicuous. This, as we have seen, proved the very cause of his interruption. His hasty flight from Cologne seemed to his enemies to have exhibited the "*fumum ex fulgore;*" but at Worms the converse was apparent, and there we may recognise the "*ex fumo lucem*" which Tyndale so promptly elicited.

Worms, indeed, was far from celebrated in the annals of early printing. In the middle of the sixteenth century, it is recorded as one out of the twenty-three towns in Germany where printing had attained perfection (*Matth. Judex ut sup.*); but only a few years previous to the period which we are now illustrating, the Worms Press was in its infancy in the hands of Peter Drachen of Spires, whose "Psalterium Latino-Germanicum" is still extant. But whether Drachen of Spires or John of Erfurt led the way, the business was in 1525 followed in the imperial city by a printer of heredi-

tary celebrity, whose colophon somewhat quaintly indicates his name and occupation as no less a man than the son and the namesake of the renowned Peter Schœffer—the inventor of letter-founding, the associate of Fust and Gutemberg. To him Tyndale discovered his views, and the result is now before us, in the small but interesting impression of the "Newe Testament," the octavo without glosses, which, by the liberality of the curators of the Baptist Library in this city, is this day opened to the inspection of the Institute.

A special description of the volume thus before us may deservedly be placed on record, not only from its intrinsic worth, but also from its extreme rarity; for the only known duplicate, which is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, is in too imperfect a state to compete with this of Bristol. The St. Paul's copy, moreover, is destitute of all ornament; but one circumstance attaches to it, which renders it of peculiar interest, for it is treasured on the very spot, contiguous to Paul's Cross, where, three centuries ago, a Cardinal had a scaffold on which he stood in robes of purple, and thirty-six Abbots, mitred Priors, and Bishops cast upon the blazing faggots the Word of God, as heretical.

The copy now before us may be described no less than that as "a brand plucked from the burning," but probably under different circumstances; for its earliest possessors, whoever they may have been, evidently did honour to it in the high places of the earth. From them, through various hands, it descended to the Earl of Oxford, in the eighteenth century. With him it figured as a gem in the Harleian Collection; afterwards changed owners at the inadequate price of 15*s.*; was degraded to the counters of the trade; finally became the property of one who appreciated its value, and placed it where it now stands. All its initial woodcuts have been finely illuminated, and at the beginning of every chapter an illuminated Roman capital has been made to cover and supersede the type as originally printed. Anderson, in his Appendix, has given one specimen, viz. that prefixed to Matthew. They are in all ten in number. Each Evangelist precedes his own Gospel: the Apostles in assembly, the Acts; St. Paul, his Epistles

to the Romans and to the Hebrews; Peter, John, James, and Jude, their own Epistles respectively. As to the initial letters, they exhibit Roman capitals in combination with German gothic text, a practice very general in books of this period. Three varieties of the letter "P" commence St. Paul's Epistles, being white on a black ground, relieved with white foliage; and St. Peter's Second Epistle has its initial "S" ornamented in a similar manner, with the sun, moon, and stars. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that these various patterns should be concealed by the opaque colours used in the process of decoration; for attention must be particularly directed to these distinctive features (of which good representations were published in Bagster's Edition, in 1836): and by these it must be determined, whether with Cochlœus and his followers we adhere to Worms, or whether with others we follow the random assertion of Sir Thomas More, that Tyndale was at Wittemberg with Luther, when he translated the New Testament.

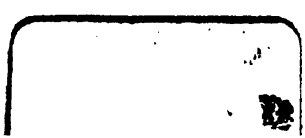
Tried by the above test, the evidence in favour of Worms is most clear and decisive. For a short time subsequently to the publication of Tyndale's Testament, there issued from the press of Schœffer the celebrated Worms Bible, a folio, whose high rarity is equalled only by its extreme beauty. The "Biblia beyder Allt und Newen Testaments Teutsch" is indeed unknown in England, but the Royal Library at Stutgard possesses it, rich in woodcuts from the blocks of Arnold of Worms, in the same style of illustration which pervades Tyndale's Testament.

And if this presumptive evidence be deemed insufficient, we obtain a more conclusive proof by turning in the Worms Bible, to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the only place where we discover a woodcut of the smaller size, viz. $1\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{7}{8}$ inches, evidently from the same block as that used in Tyndale's Testament at the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans.

And if it be clearly settled that Worms was the cradle of this glorious undertaking, then the remaining question, as to the priority of either edition, may be briefly disposed of. The quarto edition, with its glosses, was con-

fessedly the first begun at Cologne, in 1525, by the evidence of Cochlœus; the translator's Hegira follows; he flies from Cologne to Worms; and in the year following, the "Prohibition," of Tonstall, denounces the octavo as well as the quarto as having appeared in the interval. Tyndale did not issue the ponderous quarto alone, described, as it had been, in letters from Cochlœus to the English King, and watched for by Wolsey and Fisher in every port of England. But its companion, the octavo, might easier escape detection. Both were ready within the twelve months, and, carried through the press together, we may fairly be allowed to call them, as they were in truth, simultaneous.

The circumstances of their publication may further serve to explain the hold which the Reformation obtained on the eastern counties of England. England was indifferent, while the counties of East Anglia "were a people that jeoparded their lives unto the death." And whence this difference? Doubtless, because the eastern coast (as we were fitly reminded at Norwich) was not girt in "by the barren waste of waters which in those times bounded the western coast of our island, but by the highway to the shores of the great kindred nation, which has been the wellspring of intellectual life to the kingdoms of northern Europe"—(see *Transactions of the Institute at the Norwich Meeting*, p. 60),—the nation, we may here with equal fitness add, the asylum of the martyr Tyndale.

If the above remarks have in any degree called forth admiration at the progress of so great a man, we shall execrate the base treachery which violated that asylum, and we shall mourn over the fact that William Tyndale has no memorial to meet the eyes of Englishmen on their own native soil, save that volume which his own hand translated, and which has been properly designated—"ENGLAND'S BEST HOPE."

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